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PARISIAN BINDING

1500-1525

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E have all heard the saying 'La reliure est un art tout français'; it would be more pointed if it ran 'La reliure est un art tout parisien'. For the more French binding is studied, the clearer does it become that, apart from Paris, France is in no way superior to the rest of Europe. This has long been obvious respecting the bindings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the Gild of St. John Lateran, which included the booksellers, printers, and binders of Paris, received its first regular constitution in 1618,¹ and from that date the Parisian records, which are fairly complete, contain all the great names of the period—the Boyets, Padeloups, Deromes, and the rest; the few published² bindings that are certainly provincial are of greatly inferior workmanship. More recently it has come to be recognized that the famous mid-sixteenth-century bindings, which bear the names of Grolier or

¹ Thoinan, *Les relieurs français*, 1893, p. 23.

² e.g. an eighteenth-century binding by Sicard, who probably worked at Toulouse; Gruel, *Manuel*, ii, p. 163; and a seventeenth-century Moulins binding; P. Tiersonnier, *Un Livre imprimé à Moulins en 1644*, Moulins, 1905. The bindings by Claude Devers of Lyons that I have seen are far below the best Parisian standard, though Gruel (ii, p. 61) speaks well of his work; reproductions in Holmes, *Bookbindings at Windsor*, Pl. 128; Corfield Sale Catalogue, Sotheby's, 23.11.1904, Lot 456; cf. Leighton, General Catalogue, No. 5901. Duff once told me that Devers worked for Count MacCarthy.

Maiolus, are of Parisian workmanship, and not, as previously supposed, Italian or Lyonesse. Finally, study of the earliest stamped leather bindings, the beautiful romanesque bindings of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, shows that most of them were produced near the English Channel, in southern England or northern France—and in all probability, many of them at Paris.

The position is less clear during the rest of the Middle Ages; it is certain from the library ¹ inventories, that a great many stamped bindings were made, and a fair number have survived: they are of the type shown on Pl. 32 B. of *English Binding Before 1500*, decorated with small stamps arranged in vertical rows; unfortunately, they are very difficult to localize, and we know only that some of them come from Cologne.² When more ornate bindings were required, fabrics of various kinds were used, and often embellished with metal ³ clasps and centres.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the great development of the book trade made it desirable to find an easier method of decorating bindings. Accordingly, in the Netherlands, panel stamps came into use, one impression of which covered as much leather as many of the small stamps. These panels were engraved in different ways; some—probably the earliest—looked like several small stamps ⁴ connected by formal or foliated ornament; others had birds or animals or human figures in intertwining ⁵ branches; some had religious figures or

¹ See *English Binding before 1500*, p. 15.

² See Dr. A. Schmidt's essay in *Bok . . . studier tillägnade Isak Collijn*, 1925, pp. 401 et seq.

³ See *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 12.

⁴ e.g. the panel signed by Petrus Dux: reproduced *Inventaire archéologique de Gand*, No. 205; and a binding in Bodley's Library (Weale, R. 320).

⁵ The design was probably taken from sculptured ornament: decoration of this type goes back as far as the pre-Norman crosses of Northumbria: e.g. the Easby Abbey cross now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

emblems or local saints. But nearly all these Netherlands panels had from a practical point of view a great drawback—they were too small; one panel was as a rule not large enough to decorate even an octavo; the result was that two panels—or two impressions of one panel—had to be put side¹ by side across a cover, so that they were seen sideways when the book was upright. Obviously, bigger and better panels were needed, which could be used upright and would look their best when the book was held in its proper position. But this further step was not made in the Low Countries; it is of course true that a Low Country panel is occasionally used² upright, but the fashion never became general; even in the middle of the sixteenth century, long after blind-stamped pictorial panels had gone out of use in Paris, Netherlands bindings were being decorated with two small panels placed transversely³ or sometimes even with larger horizontal⁴ panels decorated with Renaissance subjects. Most of the heraldic panels used in England are of this type also, but it is never found in France, though the smaller French panels are sometimes placed side by side across a cover in the Flemish fashion.

Where large upright panels were first used regularly is uncertain; the choice seems to lie between Cologne and Paris. In the last decade of the fifteenth century a number of

¹ e.g. *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, Pl. XVII a.

² The most important examples are the wooden panels of the Annunciation and the Mass of St. Gregory, quoted by Goldschmidt, pp. 55-6.

³ e.g. the bindings of Pierre Caron; Brussels *Exposition de Reliures*, 1930, No. 252; and the Louvain panels of Spes and Lucretia (Weale, R. 433-4); *Biblioteca de Medinaceli*, Madrid, 1922, vol. ii, pp. 488-9.

⁴ e.g. Cain and Abel; Brussels *Exposition*, No. 253; the conversion of St. Paul, Plantin Moretus Museum catalogue (in English), 1924, p. 155, No. 22; reproduced in Mr. Davenport's *Cameo Bookstamps*, No. CXXXII; Bellerophon and the Chimaera, Gordon Duff Sale Catalogue, Sotheby's, 16.3.1925, Part 1, Lot 85, with plate: cf. Husung, *Bucheinbände . . . zu Berlin*, 1925, p. 14, col. 2 and p. 39; St. George and the Dragon, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 53, No. 6. I am inclined to think that all these panels come from Antwerp.

engravings with dotted backgrounds were produced at Cologne,¹ and six ² panel stamps for bindings were copied from them, tall enough to decorate adequately a large octavo or a small quarto. But from the beginning of the sixteenth century the prosperity of Cologne began to decline; its importance as an artistic centre declined also; and though a good many panel stamps have been assigned by various writers to Cologne,³ it is impossible to say that the craftsmen of that city created an individual style or exercised much influence on the development of the panel. Far otherwise did it happen at Paris; whether the idea was born there, or some enterprising bookseller heard of the Cologne panels and had them copied, is uncertain. But it is quite clear that historiated upright panels had an instant success in the French capital, and that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century far more of them were engraved there than anywhere else; more than sixty different patterns and more than 100 different panels are known to me which are of Parisian inspiration or workmanship, and the harvest is far from being fully reaped.

¹ Mr. Campbell Dodgson says (*Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum*, 1903, vol. i, p. 151): 'On the whole it would seem that the principal home of the dotted style was Cologne.'

² See Dr. Husung's article in *Archiv für Buchbinderei*, 1930, pp. 13-15; the subjects are Christ with the emblems of His Passion, The Crucifixion, the Apocalyptic Virgin and Child, SS. Barbara, Katherine, and Christopher. Fresh proof that these panels come from Cologne is provided by Nos. 234-5 in the Brussels *Exposition*. Theele in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 256, says that the plates for the engravings were used for the bindings.

³ I have noted the following—Weale, R. 716 (Magi); Goldschmidt, Nos. 58, 72, and 98—the Virgin and St. Anne, the Baptist preaching, St. Roch, the Annunciation; Gruel, i, p. 168, animals in roundels (from Lempertz); A. Schmidt, *Bucheinbände . . . in . . . Darmstadt*, Leipzig, 1921, Pl. XVII, abb. 21, 22, and 24 (the last named also in Lempertz)—the Apocalyptic Virgin, and two panels of the Magi; L. Bickell, *Bookbindings from the Hessian Historical Exhibition*, Leipzig, 1893, Pl. X b—the Annunciation; Lempertz, *Bilderhefte*, 1853-65, Pls. (of Bookbindings) I A and B, III A, IX A, c, d—Magi, entry into Jerusalem, animals in roundels.

The reason for this success is obvious; at the end of the fifteenth century Paris had the greatest trade in Europe in illustrated devotional books, particularly Books of Hours, of which it is probable that a new edition came out once a month, on an average, for about forty years, starting in 1486.¹ These expensive and lavishly illustrated little volumes would not be handed over in sheets by their printers, then packed in barrels and sent in this fashion half over Europe to be bound by local craftsmen and sleep on the dusty shelves of monastic libraries, like the ponderous productions of the Kobergers;² they would be sold as bound volumes³ over the counter, by dapper Parisian shopkeepers, to wealthy burghers or tourists, or pious ladies. Such buyers would certainly demand decorated bindings, and the task of satisfying them cannot have been easy; fabric bindings are unsuitable for large numbers of books, and leather bindings decorated with small stamps are very ineffective on octavos. The large historiated panels, on the other hand, were ideal, being both showy and convenient; appropriate subjects

¹ Lacombe has 391 different entries of Horae published at Paris between 1486 and 1529: some of his entries are of duplicate copies; but there are probably more than 100 different editions unrepresented in the four great Paris libraries.

² E. P. Goldschmidt, *Gothic and Renaissance Bookbindings*, 1928, pp. 36-9.

³ From Inventories made between 1520 and 1528 it appears that three Paris booksellers, Didier Maheu, Pierre Deau, and Louis Royer, owned between them bound copies of service books of the uses of Amiens, Autun, Cambrai, Chartres, Langres, Le Mans, Rouen, Sens, Therouenne, and Tours, as well as 'deux cens paires d'Heures au langage d'Espagne, a vignettes et dorées' (see E. Coyecque, *Cinq librairies parisiennes sous François I^{er}*, in *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris*, tome xxi, 1894, pp. 84, 95, and 97, and the *Supplément* in the *Bulletin* of the same Society, vol. xxi, 1894, pp. 201-2). As surviving examples of books printed at Paris for use in foreign countries which are in early sixteenth-century Parisian bindings I may quote a Spanish Horae in Bodley's Library (Douce BB. 225: the binding is reproduced by W. S. Brasington, *Historic bindings in the Bodleian Library*, 1891, Pl. VI), and a Manual of the use of Sleswig in the University Library at Kiel (Weale, R. 492). Seven of the nine surviving bindings decorated with G. Tory's 'pot cassé' panels are on books printed by him. Goldschmidt, pp. 245-6.

were not hard to find, and Parisian engravers did not need to adopt those used in Flanders or Cologne; still, in order to complete the story of the connexion between Paris and the lower Rhineland, it is necessary to say that several compositions are found in both districts.

Even the characteristic Netherlands type, with birds and animals in foliage, was used once at least in Paris, and the manner of its use is decidedly curious. Denis Roce, the wealthy stationer, must have been one of the first Parisians to recognize the defects of the small Netherlands panel; his method of correcting them was to get a large ¹ panel engraved with four repetitions of a Netherlands panel and his arms and motto in the centre. But this idea had no success in Paris, though, as we shall see, panels in four compartments, with a different saint in each, were exceedingly popular there.

The next of the common types is the well-known 'acorn' pattern, of which there are some twenty ² varieties used in Paris, the Netherlands, England, and probably Cologne, the bindings of which, as Goldschmidt remarks, belong to the northern-French-Flemish-English group. As suggested by Dr. Husung,³ the acorn design may have been adopted from one of the early German playing cards, which had been divided into their modern suits—bells, hearts, clubs, and acorns—in the second ⁴ half of the fifteenth century; the difficulty of this theory is that the acorns on the cards are always shown branching ⁵ out in opposite directions from a central stem, not facing

¹ Examples of this panel in the Bibl. Royale, Bruxelles (*Exposition*, 1930, No. 187), and the Bibliothèque Municipale, Poitiers (No. 140; contains four treatises by St. Bernard, of which three at least were published at Paris). It is accompanied on both books by the panel with the device of Roce which is mentioned later (p. 422).

² Brussels *Exposition*, 1930, p. 97.

³ *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N.F., x, 1919, p. 189.

⁴ H. R. d'Allemagne, *Les Cartes à jouer*, Paris, 1906, vol. i, p. 45.

⁵ Cards of this type are to be found in a pack in the Figdor collection, which was engraved about 1545 (d'Allemagne, *op. cit.*, p. 48); but the design must be earlier.

each other, as on the panels; however, I can propose no other source for the panel. But, even if we accept Dr. Husung's theory, we must not think of the acorn panels as German; French craftsmen of that period—perhaps all craftsmen of all periods—must have had scrapbooks full of drawings and engravings from many sources which might be useful as models; thus we find sixteenth-century French glass-painters copying Dürer's illustrations ¹ of the Apocalypse, and a Toulouse wood-carver adapting the design of an engraving by Israel van Meckenken to the decoration of a choir-stall ² in 1535.

Next we come to a panel of the Annunciation,³ and of this too there are many variants. At first glance this looks thoroughly Parisian: there are full-page cuts of the Annunciation in all, or nearly all, the Books of Hours, and both in character and composition they greatly resemble the panels. This fashion of representing the Annunciation in a modest bourgeois room, with the Virgin kneeling at a prie-Dieu, was derived from the Mystery ⁴ Plays and is found in French and Flemish miniatures before 1450, and a large wooden panel with the subject treated in the same way was used in Flanders ⁵ before 1500; the panels have always a balcony in the background, and this seems to be a Flemish idea as it is used in other ⁶ panels which certainly come from the Netherlands, but does not appear in the book illustrations. The subject seems to have been very popular in the North, less popular at Paris; and one of the few variants found there belonged to Jacques Moeraert,⁷ a native of the Low Countries.

¹ E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge*, 1925, p. 450 et seq.

² M. Villotte, *Les Stalles de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges*, St. Gaudens, 1930, Pl. III.

³ Weale, *R.* 409-14.

⁴ Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-5: he says that a room was erected on the stage for the scene of the Annunciation.

⁵ Goldschmidt, pp. 55-6.

⁶ Of the Image of Pity; e.g. Burlington F. A. C. Exhibition Catalogue B. 10, Pl. IX; and the Scourging of Christ, Paul Graupe, Cat. 93, n.d., Pergament-Manuscripte, No. 1.

⁷ Goldschmidt, p. 56.

Another type probably used in both districts is the Virgin as the mysterious woman of the Apocalypse,¹ 'clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars' (Rev. xii. 1). It is true that Weale and Goldschmidt assign all their examples of it to the Netherlands or Cologne, and no doubt they are right in so doing, though one of the panels² has Parisian affinities, for it is accompanied by a small panel of fighting woodhouses which is taken from Pigouchet.³ But Monsieur Gruel possesses the metal plate for another panel of the same subject and kindly permits me to reproduce an impression from it (see Pl. I a); the border, with its inscription on ribbons, and its medallion heads, is unique, and there is nothing to show definitely where the panel was engraved, but it seems more likely to be Parisian than anything else.

Other panel-types held in common represent saints; two panels indeed of John Baptist preaching⁴ are clearly Parisian, their broad historiated borders being adapted from Books of Hours; Goldschmidt is surely right in assigning the initials on one

¹ Frequently found in French woodcuts and trademarks of the period; e.g. Ph. Renouard, *Marques Typographiques*, Paris, 1926, No. 338; Claudin, iv, p. 33; supplementary volume, edited by S. de Ricci, 1926, No. 270, &c.

² Weale, R. 412 = Goldschmidt, 151: the other panels are Weale, R. 342 and 704; and Goldschmidt's signed Louvain panel, No. 176.

³ The original is reproduced in the lower border of the original of Norvins' Ara Coeli panel (Pl. V): the panel is given by Theele, *Rheinische Buchkunst*, 1925, Pl. 72, 9. Weale, R. 412, is also accompanied by a panel of the Annunciation of the usual type: the three panels together are reproduced by Alexandre Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres*, Gand, 1860, vol. i, p. 62: the Apocalyptic Virgin alone by Hulshof and Schretlen, *De Kunst der oude Boekbinders*, Pl. XXXII: cf. p. 48. The panels were in use as late as 1555.

⁴ One of these has in its borders figures of David praying and David and Bathsheba, reminiscent of the panels: of this there are three variants, one of them used by Andrew Ruwe in London: the unique example of the other panel, bearing the initials J.L., belongs to Goldschmidt: for reproductions see Goldschmidt Pls. XXXVI and XLIII: cf. *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 63.

of them, J.L., to the Parisian stationer Jean Lalyseau. But the central figure was used both in England ¹ and the Netherlands as well as at Paris, though it is probable that it was first used at Paris, for the idea of showing the Baptist preaching behind a horizontal bar is taken from the Mystery ² Plays; an illuminated manuscript of one of them which was performed at Valenciennes ³ in 1550 shows him preaching behind a bar placed between two trees. It is natural to suppose that iconography based on the religious drama is Parisian, for there had been a permanent theatre in Paris since 1402.⁴

The panel of St. Roch again is known to have been used in the Netherlands ⁵ and England; but he was a French saint and the type probably came from Paris, for the woodcut ⁶ which it resembles is taken from a book printed there, and a variant ⁷ is found at the head of a broadsheet issued by the Parisian Carmelites to celebrate the powerful aid of the saint in stopping a pestilence which raged in 1490.

No doubt other popular saints were represented in much the

¹ e.g. by John Siberch of Cambridge; G. J. Gray, *The Earlier Cambridge Stationers*, 1904, Pl. XIX; for the Netherlands, see Weale, *R.* 419.

² E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 78.

³ *Catalogue des livres de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild*, vol. iv, Paris, 1912, No. 3010.

⁴ Jehan Mortensen, *Le théâtre français au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1903, p. 100.

⁵ Weale, *R.* 430; G. J. Gray, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX; another variant is assigned by Goldschmidt to Cologne (p. 239).

⁶ *La vie de Monseigneur St. Roch*, Paris, c. 1495; C. Fairfax Murray, *French Books*, No. 575.

⁷ Reproduced by Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure française*, Paris, 1923, vol. i, Pl. 148. Also by Paul Heitz, *Pestblätter des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Strasburg, 1901, Pl. XXV: Heitz reproduces several Flemish or German prints of St. Roch (Pls. XXIV-XXXI), but none has any resemblance to the panel. A small vignette of St. Roch, copied from the woodcuts, is used in a Book of Hours printed by Thielman Kerver in 1502. In all these French cuts of St. Roch the dog is seated, but the Spanish Horae in Bodley's Library already referred to (p. 397, n. 3) shows him jumping up as on the panels.

same fashion at Cologne or Bruges or Brussels as at Paris ; but it seems clear that though Paris may have borrowed the idea of the panel stamp, she borrowed very little else, and in her choice of subjects showed herself singularly independent of foreign influence. One striking instance of this originality may be mentioned ; among the most popular religious subjects in late medieval art is the Image of Pity, the Figure of the suffering Christ ; it inspired some of the greatest Italian painters, including Giovanni Bellini ; it is found in innumerable manuscripts ; and it was used on several panel stamps belonging to the booksellers of Flanders ¹ or Brabant. The treatment of the scene varies little ; the nude figure of Christ, crowned with thorns, is shown from the waist upwards, rising from his tomb, as, according to the legend, He appeared to St. Gregory the Great. Sometimes the figure is supported by angels ; often the Instruments of Passion are shown in the background. The subject was far from being unknown in France ; but it is not used—at all events as a full-page plate—in the printed Books of Hours ; and when Parisian engravers of panel stamps wished to show Christ as the Man of Sorrows, they copied an illustration ² used by Thielman Kerver, and represented Him standing by the column, after His scourging. Two of the only three known examples of this panel bear the name of the Italian bookseller Alexandre Alyat,³ who was in business at Paris.

If we consider the whole group of panels that may be re-

¹ On the Image of Pity see Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 et seq. ; for the Low Country panels, Weale, *R.* 382, &c.

² The panel was published and described by M. Robert Brun in *Les Trésors des Bibliothèques de France*, vol. ii, 1929, pp. 163 et seq., from a named example in the Bibliothèque Nationale ; the other named panel is in the Aberdeen University Library (Burlington F. A. C. Exhibition of Bindings, Case B, No. 26) : the unnamed example is in the Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine at Carpentras (Vaucluse), and is No. 134, p. 60 in the account of the library published (1929) by MM. R. and M. Cailliet.

³ For whom see Claudin, ii, p. 342.

garded as Parisian, we shall find that nearly all the figure subjects are religious and that they may be classified under four heads; the Old Testament subjects, the New Testament subjects, the Saints, and finally the miscellaneous panels, which do not come in any of the other sections. The classification at once reveals a very significant fact; three subjects only are taken from the Old Testament,¹ and all are taken from the story of David. Yet the Old Testament has always been popular with artists and it affords an immense variety of themes suitable for artistic presentation, far more in fact than the New Testament. Why then was it so neglected by the engravers? And why was David so favoured? There can be but one answer: David is the only character of the Old Testament who is always given a full-page illustration in the printed Books of Hours.

The first of the three panel-types, the Stem of Jesse, is the rarest, both as illustration and panel; the illustration belongs to Pigouchet's third set of cuts,² which was in use in 1502 or soon afterwards; the panel I know only through a rubbing in the Maxe-Werly³ collection of notes on Gothic Bindings, which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale; the original is said to be used on the binding of an office of the Virgin, in the town library of Neufchâteau (Vosges); the panel is not copied directly from the cut, though it is similar in character.

¹ One panel comes from the Apocrypha. It is lettered *Huble Sarra*, ? humble Sarah, and represents a richly dressed woman kneeling in prayer and God the Father appearing in the sky; evidently it illustrates Sarah's prayer (Tobit, iii. 11-15). I know it only through the reproduction of the unique specimen in the Fairfax Murray French Books (No. 398). The inspiration is clearly Parisian and probably the workmanship also; but the book on which the panel is found is late (c. 1535), and the earliest ownership entry (1656) is Dutch, so that the panel may have been exported to the Netherlands.

² See the Catalogue of the Fairfax Murray French Books, p. 289; the cut is reproduced *op. cit.*, p. 282, and Claudin, ii, p. 50.

³ Maxe-Werly was a native of Lorraine, who kept a chemist's shop at Paris. I learnt of his notes from a reference to them by M. Robert Brun, *op. cit.*, p. 164, n. 1.

The second of the three panel-types represents David praying in penitence to God the Father, a subject often found in manuscript or printed Horae, though I have not discovered the original of the panel; but the borders, which are copied from Pigouchet, show its affinities clearly: of this type there are at least three variants.¹ The third type represents David and Bathsheba, and of this type also there are three different panels. One of them belonged to Jean Norvins,² who is known as the owner of at least four panels, all clearly Parisian. Of the second panel one specimen only is recorded,³ which is now in the public library at Berne; it is used on the commonplace book of Jacques le Gros, a notable citizen of Paris in the first half of the sixteenth century. It has borders representing Cardinal or Theological Virtues trampling on notorious representatives of Deadly Sins, and these borders again are copied from Pigouchet.⁴ Larger and more elaborate, also closer to the original Pigouchet illustration from which all three panels are taken, is a beautifully engraved panel belonging to Colonel Moss (see Pl. II); with it is used a strip of handsome Renaissance ornament, also copied from Pigouchet (see Pl. III).

The companion panel of the Adoration of the Magi comes from the same source, and the two panels together give us the name of their original owner, Jehan des Jore or Jehan de St. Jore. For two reasons it is fairly certain that the binding is Norman; first because it covers a volume of Royal Decrees relating to Normandy⁵ printed at Rouen c. 1517, a book for

¹ See *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, pp. 56-7.

² See Appendix III and Goldschmidt, No. 130, p. 225.

³ Described and illustrated by Delisle in *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. xxiii, 1896, pp. 226 et seq. The volume also contains two printed pamphlets, and appears to have been bound in 1520.

⁴ Some of Pigouchet's borders are reproduced by Mâle, pp. 334-6.

⁵ *Ordonnances royaux*, printed at Rouen for Raulin Gaultier of that town and Michel Angier of Caen; Delisle, *Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen*, 2 vols., Caen, 1903, No. 313.

which there could hardly be any sale outside the Duchy; second, because the name on the panels is Norman; a certain David Jore,¹ of Condé-sur-Noireau, in the diocese of Bayeux, was a master at the Collège du Bois at Caen in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

But it does not follow that the panels were engraved in Normandy; on the contrary, they are far too Parisian in character, and far too accomplished in workmanship, to have been produced outside the capital; their excellence emphasizes the shortcomings of the binder, who seems to have been peculiarly imbecile, even for a human being. Having to decorate a cover with a panel too narrow for it, instead of centring the panel and placing on either side the beautiful band of Renaissance ornament, he put the panel on one side and the ornament in the middle, and filled up the rest of the cover with a part of the companion panel, thus turning what might have been a symmetrical design into a meaningless jumble. The suggestion that some of the panels used by provincial stationers may have come from Paris has not, so far as I know, ever been made before, but it is surely not unreasonable. The relations between the book-trades of Paris and northern France seem to have been very close. Many Books of Hours of provincial uses were published at the Capital;² six books were printed at Caen with type³ brought from Paris; and in the opinion of Mr. Pollard⁴ there can be little doubt that the cuts in the *Cité de Dieu*, printed at Abbeville in 1486, were the work of Paris craftsmen. If Paris craftsmen supplied type and wood-blocks to provincial

¹ Delisle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. cx.

² Bohatta (2nd edition, 1924) records Books of Hours of more than forty provincial uses which were printed at Paris.

³ Delisle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. lv.

⁴ *Fine Books*, 1912, p. 146; there is, however, a special reason for this, as Jean du Pré, one of the joint printers of the book, had previously been in business at Paris and was subsequently to return there.

printers, clearly they may have supplied binding panels to provincial stationers.¹

All the exclusively Parisian subjects taken from the New Testament come from the Gospels,² with the exception of the Pentecost.³ I have already spoken of two of the panels, the Annunciation and Christ at the Column; two others, representing respectively Christ and the Woman of Samaria,⁴ and Christ appearing to the Magdalen,⁵ are very similar to marginal illustrations in the Books of Hours. Of several panels of the Crucifixion,⁶ the most interesting is that which bears the name of André Boule and shows the cross rising from a chalice full⁷ of the blood of Christ. It is akin to the pictures known as The Fountain of Life,⁸ in which the cross stands in a tank full of the precious blood; these were common in France at the period, but I cannot find that the two saints of the panel—Thomas

¹ It is interesting to learn that Paris supplied the northern provinces with incised tombstones or memorial brasses at this period. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

² Contrast the Romanesque bindings of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; at least two-thirds of the Biblical stamps on these are taken from Revelations.

³ Two panels belonging to P. Gérard and Guérin le camus.

⁴ Weale, *R.* 492; there is a very bad English copy of this panel in Bodley's Library, Th. 40.G.56. The Du Puys, Booksellers at Paris, 1504-91, used various trademarks illustrating this episode; but the panel is not copied from any of them. (See Ph. Renouard, *Les marques typographiques parisiennes*, 1928, Nos. 276-85, and Gruel, ii, p. 74.)

⁵ Goldschmidt, No. 69, p. 186: a variant mentioned by Gruel, ii, p. 20. Christ is shown carrying a spade, in illustration of John xx. 15 . . . ' . . . she, supposing Him to be the gardener . . . '. It was thus that He appeared in the Mystery Plays: the panel, therefore, is another instance of the influence of the religious drama on iconography (Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 77).

⁶ For the list see *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 56, n. 1.

⁷ A similar woodcut is used in Gaguin, *La Mer des Croniques*, Paris, 1518, reproduced in the Fairfax Murray French Catalogue, No. 184, p. 180. But the figures by the cross are not those of the panel, which is reproduced by Westendorp, *Die Kunst der alten Buchbinder*, Halle, 1909, Pl. 13.

⁸ Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 et seq.

Aquinas and Katherine of Siena—appeared in any of them. Nothing is known of André Boule, the owner of the panel; but presumably he was a relative of Pierre¹ and Jean Boule, who were in business as booksellers and binders, between 1499 and 1543, in the rue St. Jacques, just by the oldest Dominican Convent² in Paris. To this proximity, and the business relations which must have resulted from it, these two saints no doubt owe their presence on the panel, for they were more venerated by the Dominicans than any other saints except St. Dominic himself.

Two other New Testament panels, one of the Angel appearing³ to the Shepherds (see Pl. IV b), the other of Our Lady of Pity,⁴ were both used in England, but they are typically Parisian in character and may be claimed as examples of Parisian influence if not of Parisian workmanship.

Very instructive are the panels decorated with saints, the most characteristic of which are those divided into four compartments, with a different saint in each, an arrangement taken, not from the printed Books of Hours, but from north French

¹ Probably he was the son of Pierre (1499-1508) and father of Jean (1530-43), for whom see Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs . . . parisiens*, 1898, p. 42.

² For this convent and its library see A. Franklin, *Les anciennes Bibliothèques de Paris*, 1867, vol. i, pp. 191-6. It owned the armchair of St. Thomas Aquinas.

³ A unique and unpublished panel in Bodley's Library (Douce MM. 309) on a book printed by Julian Notary, 1508; the companion panel has a Tudor Rose within a wide border of foliage and closely resembles Weale, R. 70-4: one of these (R. 74) belonged to the London stationer Frederick Egmont, who owned also a panel copied from the device of Philip Pigouchet (see *post*, p. 421); another (R. 70) to Richard Pynson, who may have studied at Paris. The type is shown in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, Pl. V. The Angel and Shepherds, of course, nearly always have a full-page cut in the Books of Hours.

⁴ Weale, R. 132: reproduction Quaritch, *A Catalogue of . . . Bookbindings*, 1921, Pl. II: cf. this panel with the same subject in a four-compartment panel (Weale, R. 505; reproduced Davenport, *Cameo Bookstamps*, cxiv). Henry Jacobi used a similar panel; for the subject cf. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 et seq.

or Flemish¹ manuscripts. Its advantages are obvious; it made it easy to provide a good-sized panel without giving the engraver any trouble in selecting or composing the subject. All he had to do was to choose four popular saints and put each in a conventional attitude under a canopy. Twenty-one² different panels of this type are known, and counting the saints shown on them, as well as those that have panels to themselves, we find at least thirty³ different saints on panels which may be regarded as Parisian in character, though not all of them were used at Paris. Eighteen of these saints are illustrated in printed Books of Hours of the uses of Rome or Paris; and of the other twelve, six are local saints used on panels obviously intended for export.⁴ It is true that several of the eighteen are the major saints of Christianity, who may be found anywhere: John Baptist, John Evangelist, Peter, Paul, and James the Greater, the patron of pilgrims; but it is surely remarkable that we should find, both in the Books of Hours and on the panels, SS. Michael the Archangel, Veronica, Stephen, Katherine of Egypt, Barbara, Nicholas, Claude, Gregory the Great, Francis of Assisi, and Geneviève, the patroness of Paris, and that the

¹ As Gruel, i, p. 88, remarks. A miniature of this type from a Flemish manuscript with four female saints was sold at Sotheby's in the Sotheby Sale 24.7.1924 (Lot 153). Other leaves from the same manuscript are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

² A list of nineteen of these is given in *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, pp. 58-9. One of the two others accompanies the panel of Christ at the Column in the Carpentras Library (*ante*, p. 402, n. 2), the other belongs to M. Gruel and accompanies the panel of St. Julian, mentioned below. Five of these twenty-one panels were used in England and some may have been engraved here, but the type comes from Paris.

³ See Appendix I.

⁴ The remaining six are SS. Katherine of Siena and Thomas Aquinas, already mentioned; St. Martin and St. Yves, both used in Parisian trademarks (Ph. Renouard, *Marques typographiques*, 684, 931-2, 934); a saint who carries a carpenter's square and figures on a two-saint panel with St. Paul; see Appendix I, No. 20; and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose border links him with Paris (see p. 414).

panels should closely resemble the illustrations. The cause of the coincidence is partly no doubt that most of these saints were the favourite saints¹ of the period in France, found in carvings and paintings all over the country; but it is also due in part to the very close connexion between the panel stamps and the Books of Hours to which I have so often referred. Take, for instance, the little panel of St. Stephen² (see Pl. IV a): it is obvious at once that this must be the reversed copy of an engraving, for both the stone-throwers are left-handed; and on search being made, the original duly appears as a vignette in one of Pigouchet's *Horae*³ (Fig. 1). A little panel of St. Veronica,⁴ again, has a head of Christ resembling very closely a small cut used by another printer.



Fig. 1

Or take the panel of St. Christopher, the owner of which was presumably a member of the Angelier family of Parisian booksellers⁵: here the resemblance is very significant, for

¹ See Mâle, *op. cit.*, ch. v. Broadly speaking they were popular because they were useful: SS. Christopher and Barbara preserved from sudden death, SS. Roch and Sebastian from the plague; St. Nicholas was a great miracle worker, St. James protected pilgrims, St. Katherine of Egypt was the patroness of girls and old maids.

² The only known example of this panel is used, with St. Martin, on two Italian incunabula (Hain, 6157 and 6184) in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin: reproduced by Husung, *Bucheinbände, &c.*, Pl. XXXII, abb. 47: cf. Pl. IV.

³ Dated 22 August 1498; the vignette is reproduced by Claudin, vol. ii, p. 33.

⁴ The only known example of this small panel belongs to Mr. Ehrman; it is used with a panel of Christ bearing His cross on a copy of the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, Paris, n.d. (formerly Dunn, Lot 3621). The cut is found in a Book of Hours printed by Kerver, Set 10. 1522 (B.M. copy pressmark C.41.e.5).

⁵ Reproduced, Gruel, ii, p. 20, from the binding of S. Champier, *Le guidon en français*, Lyons, 1503; the companion panel shows Christ appearing to the Magdalen. Another panel of St. Christopher, without the owner's name, is used

St. Christopher was one of the most popular saints of the time; and many late medieval representations of him have been published¹ in recent years; but far closer than any of them is a little vignette, again taken from one of Pigouchet's Books of Hours.²

Very few of our thirty saints have full-page illustrations in the Books of Hours: one of the exceptions is John Evangelist who on the bindings, as in the books, is sometimes shown writing³ in the island of Patmos, and sometimes standing holding the poisoned cup;⁴ but it is rather curious that his immersion in a tub of boiling oil, which the morbid taste of the period frequently selected for illustration, should never be found on a binding. Gregory the Great is another saint honoured with a full-page plate in the Books of Hours; of the three binding panels which show his miraculous vision, the best known was used in England: it has been described by Weale and reproduced by Goldschmidt;⁵ but neither authority points out that it is directly copied from a plate used by Pigouchet⁶ before 1500, and therefore shows once more the influence of Parisian iconography.⁷

on a copy of A. Ricius, *Eruditiones Christianae religionis*, Paris, Jehan Petit, n.d. (before 1515), at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

¹ By E. K. Stahl, *Die Legende vom heiligen Riesen Christophorus*, Munich, 1920; and F. H. C. Waite, *St. Christopher in English medieval wall painting*, 1929.

² Almanac 1507-27; B.M. copy pressmark C.27.1.2.

³ Reproductions in Burlington F. A. C. Catalogue, Pl. X; Westendorp, op. cit., Pl. 15.

⁴ Reproduction in Husung, *Bucheinbände, &c.*, Pl. XXXIII, abb. 48.

⁵ Weale, *R. 87*. Goldschmidt, No. 82, p. 195. It is accompanied by a panel of St. Barbara.

⁶ In a Book of Hours, published 1 December 1491; reproduced by Felix Soleil, *Les heures gothiques*, Rouen, 1882, Pl. XXIX.

⁷ Another panel of St. Gregory, taken from the same illustration, is used on a copy of the second edition of Plato, printed at Venice in 1491 (Hain-Copinger 13063): on the other cover is a panel of the Annunciation signed G. P. Both covers are reproduced by J. Halle, Catalogue 66, 1928, No. 50. It is clear that

Another rather crudely engraved panel of St. Gregory¹ bears the name of the Parisian stationer, Hémon Lefevrier or Lefèvre; it is accompanied by a panel of St. Sebastian which belonged to Denis Roce. How comes it that two panels bearing different names are found on the same book? The obvious explanation is that the two men were in partnership, but it will not do: something is known of the lives of both, and there is no evidence of any business relations between them, though Lefèvre was associated with Nicholas de la Barre,² and Roce with Jean Petit.³ We must look further; it is known that both men were booksellers and the probabilities are that neither was a binder: that the same binder worked for both; and that the presence of their two panels on one book is simply due to his carelessness.

There is indeed good reason to think that all the names found on Parisian panels—whether used at Paris itself or in the French provinces or at London—belong to booksellers, not binders. The names of thirty-seven binders working at Paris between 1490 and 1535 have been rescued from the archives and published (see Appendix IV); not one of these names is found on a panel or a roll. On the other hand, out of thirty-six identifiable owners of panels or rolls, eighteen are otherwise

the panels are Parisian; but it is equally clear that the small stamps which accompany them, and the metal centre and corner pieces on both covers, are South German. The original owner of the book was J. Gaisser of Augsburg, who has written a note in another book in the same bookseller's catalogue (No. 11) saying that he bought it at Paris in 1493. Clearly he bought the panels there also, either then or on some later visit, took them back to Augsburg, and had them used by a local binder. It appears from an entry quoted by Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS.*, vol. ii, 1874, p. 199, that Gaisser was at Paris again in 1500 when Toussaint Denys got a book bound for him.

¹ From the binding of Georgius Bruxellensis, *Quaestiones in logicam Aristotelis*, Lyons, 1496 (Hain 7603): in the Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rouen (Pressmark Inc. mm. 49).

² The two names are both found in the colophon of the *Proportions* of Gaspar Lax, Paris, 1515; see *Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon*, Documents, &c., ii, November 1923, p. 50.

³ See Claudin, ii, p. 332.

known (see Appendix III): all are known as booksellers or printers, none as a binder.¹

It is time to consider some of the saints who do not appear in the Books of Hours: two of them figure on well-known panels which belonged to Clément Alexandre,² a stationer of Angers, and were, I believe, supplied to him from Paris. Between one of them and a panel which bears the otherwise unknown name of Jehan Dreux³ there are some striking analogies,

¹ Some are called binders by Ph. Renouard or Thoinan; but that is only because their names appear on the panels; none seems to figure in the archives as a binder. In the Netherlands, binders often signed their work, but I know of three Frenchmen only of the period who signed definitely as binders:

A. The binding of a book printed by Denis Roce in 1494 is inscribed Jacobus Aubry me ligavit (Thoinan, p. 192).

B. Three bindings in the Bibliothèque de la Ville, Troyes, are inscribed Ego Frater Mattheus (?) Warnn (?) de conventu Belli Prati (the Cistercian Abbey of Beaupré, in the Diocese of Beauvais) hunc librum ligavi ad laudem Dei Beatae Mariae et Sancti Bernardi. (I have expanded the abbreviations.) This binding is decorated with a small panel of most unusual type; it is in two strips, each with floral or foliate ornament at the top; below is a monk offering a book to the Virgin. The books came to Troyes from Clairvaux (Thoinan, p. 405).

C. A binding in the Bibliothèque Nationale, on a book printed at Lyons in 1504, is signed Jehan Compains me fist (Gruel, i, p. 71).

² See Goldschmidt, No. 112, p. 213: three bindings with these panels are known:

A. On *Pragmatica Sanctio*, Paris, 1510: the Lempertz-Murray book quoted by Goldschmidt.

B. On Aldine counterfeits of Catullus and Martial, probably printed at Lyons c. 1510: in the Edinburgh University Library. W.23.23.

C. On *Aureus ac perutilis tractatus Masuerii*, Paris (Durand Gerlier), n.d., in the collection of M. Gruel, who also owns the panels without the name of Clément Alexandre on *Pragmatica Sanctio*, Paris. (P. Pigouchet) n.d.

³ This also belongs to M. Gruel and covers a copy of the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, Paris, Jean Petit, 1516. A Jehan Dreux of Bruges and Brussels was a book-illustrator in the service of the Dukes of Burgundy 1440-64 (Comte Paul Durrieu, *La Miniature flamande*, Brussels and Paris, 1921, p. 18): it is possible that the owner of the panel was a relative attracted to Le Mans by one of the Luxemburg bishops.

and it is probable that both come from the same workshop. On one we see St. Maurilius, Bishop of Angers, on the other St. Julian, Bishop of Le Mans; on each there is a coat of arms at all four corners¹ of the centre compartment, and these are the only two Parisian panels of the period that are decorated in this way: at the top dexter corner of each are the lilies of France, the other coats are all of local interest: the Alexandre panel bears the arms of the town, University, and Diocese of Angers; in the top sinister corner of the Dreux panel are the arms of a prelate of the great house of Luxemburg, four members of which were Bishops of Le Mans in succession between 1465 and 1519: below it are the arms of the town of

¹ This feature of the panels occurs also on the trademarks of three Norman stationers—Robinet Macé, Pierre Regnault, and Jean Richard (Polain, *Marques des Imprimeurs en France*, Paris, 1926, pp. 6-9, 11, and 209), and on them alone of all the trademarks published by Silvestre, Renouard, Polain, and W. J. Meyer. It would be a mistake, in my opinion, to conclude from this that the panels were engraved in Normandy; there is good evidence that they are Parisian:

A. The border of St. Julian is so like those of two panels of St. James the Greater and St. John Evangelist (Goldschmidt, No. 78, p. 192) that the three panels must be the work of the same engraver; St. James and St. John are thoroughly Parisian and have no connexion with Normandy.

B. The companion panel to St. Julian is one of the 'four-compartment' panels which were so popular at Paris.

C. The historiated borders of St. Maurilius are Parisian: similar borders may be seen on the incised grave slabs exported from Paris to the provinces. (Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 424.)

D. The Dreux binding has leather doublures decorated with typically Parisian strips of ornament, like those used on the panel which bears the name of Pierre Guiot (Goldschmidt, Pl. XXIII). A similar panel belonged to the Parisian stationer Toussaint Denys.

E. St. Deimbert, Archbishop of Sens, is used to decorate a panel which unfortunately I know only from a catalogue description (George Dunn Sale Catalogue, Sotheby's, 11.2.1913, Lot 521: afterwards Leighton Sale Catalogue, *ib.*, 15.11.1918, Lot 384): he adds one more to the list of provincial prelates used on panels, and it is impossible that he can have been engraved in Normandy, Sens being seventy miles south-east of Paris

Le Mans¹ as used at the beginning of the sixteenth century: the other coat unfortunately is undecipherable. Le Mans and Angers are only fifty miles apart, and it is not unnatural that tradesmen in the two cities should patronize the same Parisian artist.

St. Romanus, Archbishop of Rouen, figures on another panel,² probably supplied by Paris to the provinces, with its companion panel of Christ as the Man of Sorrows: the decoration surrounding the panels is typical of South Germany³ and suggests that the binding is the work of an immigrant to Normandy from there, or that the stamps are copied from South German models.

The last saint whom I need mention is Bernard of Clairvaux, whose panel (Weale, R. 520) shows his miraculous vision of the Virgin Mother. The panel is connected with Paris by the three Sibyls in the borders, one of whom at least⁴ is clearly copied from Pigouchet. This panel came in its old age to England, and

¹ See Jacques Meurgey, *Armoiries des provinces et villes de France*, Paris, 1929, p. 45. I owe the reference and the identification of the arms to Mr. Van de Put of the Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum.

² The panels are found on two books: a collection of Norman poems formerly used to line the covers, in Bodley's Library (MS. Douce 379, see S. Gibson, *Notable Bindings in Bodley's Library*, 1901-4, Pl. 13), and a Manuscript Book of Hours of the use of Rouen, which was Lot 1223 of the G. Dunn Library. St. Romanus figures in the devices of Nicholas le Roux and Pierre Olivier of Rouen (Silvestre 1184 and 1205). There is a stained glass window dedicated to him in the Cathedral of Rouen (Mâle, op. cit., p. 317).

³ But this type of stamp appears also on a binding which covers a book printed at Paris and bears the cipher of Clément Alexandre of Angers (Gruel, ii, p. 19).

⁴ Sibylla Europa: the original was used frequently in the Books of Hours: e.g. that printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Almanac 1507-27 (B.M. copy press-mark C.27.1.2). The Sibyls were very popular in French art at this period (see Mâle, op. cit., pp. 255 et seq.): they appear also in Germany (see Abbé G. F. Duriez, *La Théologie dans le drame religieux en Allemagne*, Lille, 1914, pp. 143-157); but they do not seem to have reached England.

is used in conjunction with an acorn panel on two books¹ printed by Pynson in 1519 and 1522 respectively.

We find another Sibyl on the companion panel to St. Bernard, which bears the initials of Jean Norvins and represents the vision of Ara Coeli—the Tiburtine Sibyl showing Augustus the Virgin and Child in Heaven. This is perhaps the best engraved and most Parisian of all these panels, not only the main subject, but all the borders being taken from Pigouchet² (see Pl. V).

The Tiburtine Sibyl is the only one of the twelve who has a panel to herself; she has two, and deserves them, for she is the only one of the sisterhood who did anything but prophesy. The second panel (see Pl. VI) is freely adapted from another illustration in a Book of Hours:³ Weale (R. 83) calls it English, because the only known example covers an illuminated manuscript *Horae* of English use, written at Bruges in 1408,⁴ which is now in the library of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.⁵ The large fly behind the Sibyl, and the stunted oak-

¹ One of these is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (see *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 63); the other was in the Duke of Leeds' Library (sold at Sotheby's, 2 June 1930, Lot 314). The Tiburtine Sibyl again may owe her vogue to Mystery Plays. Mortensen (op. cit., p. 118) describes a cycle of Mystery Plays on the Old Testament which ends with the legend of Augustus and the Sibyl.

² The cut is reproduced in the Fairfax Murray French Catalogue, p. 1062, from a Book of Hours of the use of Orleans, printed for Vostre (Paris, about 1502). The borders all occur frequently, e.g. an edition printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, 8 August 1497. B.M. copy pressmark I.A. 40338.

³ It appears in a Book of Hours issued by Verard c. 1511. B.M. copy pressmark C.41.d.2.

⁴ Not 1508 as Weale erroneously states. I learnt the true date from examination of the manuscript itself, which the President of St. Cuthbert's College very kindly lent me for inspection.

⁵ This panel is accompanied by one decorated with two saints, standing, who cannot now be identified (Weale, R. 84): this latter panel is very similar to a panel of St. Paul and a saint holding a carpenter's square, who may be any one of

tree in front of the Emperor should be noticed, for they show the panel to be by the same hand as two panels engraved for Jehan Moulin on which these two features¹ are repeated. These Moulin panels have always seemed to me the most attractive of all: they alone give us homely scenes of everyday life, and they alone—apart from some armorial panels—could be used only by the man whose name they bear. Except indeed by somebody of the same name; and it is a strange chance that one of them should have been adapted as a trademark by Andrew Myllar,² the first Scottish printer. From this it is fairly certain that they were in use at Rouen, the only continental town that Myllar is known to have visited, and it is probable that they belonged to Jean du Moulin, the Rouen printer, whose name is found in a Book of Hours published there c. 1519 (Lacombe 530). Nevertheless, I feel sure that they were engraved at Paris, to which they are linked not only by the Sibyl, but also by the panel of St. Stephen which shares with one of them its border of bees and roses.³ These panels—or books decorated with them—must have come to England in the sixteenth century, for they are to be found in six⁴ old English libraries, and, so far as I know, nowhere else.

SS. Joseph, Jude, Matthew, Thomas, and Matthias, used on two undated books in Bodley's Library, both printed by Regnault at Paris (Th. 8°. E. 46 and 8°. C. 152 Th.); the other panel on these two books represents St. Barbara.

¹ Both panels are reproduced by Mr. Davenport, *Cameo Bookstamps*, cxxv and cxxvi.

² For Myllar's trademark see McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*, 1913, No. 22. Duff, *Century of the English Book Trade*, gives the main facts of his life. Du Moulin's trademark (Silvestre 258) contains a windmill, but not a miller or donkey.

³ Goldschmidt, p. 173, speaks of this as typically Parisian.

⁴ The list is:

A. Eton College. Book printed at Venice, 1513 (G.a.6.18).

B. Queens' College, Cambridge. Johannes de Beugo, *Pupilla oculi*, Rouen, 1516.

C. Worcester Cathedral Library, G. Paraldus, *Summarium . . . virtutum*, Paris, 1519.

We come back to the Tiburtine Sibyl with the next of the miscellaneous panels (see Pl. VII), where she appears in the border together with figures of the three Magi, also borrowed from Pigouchet, and of Herod presiding over the Massacre of the Innocents. There are several versions of this panel, easily distinguishable by differences in the shield¹ below the central figure. This is, however, the only example of it,² and, so far as I know, the only Parisian panel which bears a private coat of arms, and the arms are interesting because they belong to the family of de Bellièvre which seems to have included several generations of bibliophiles. The same arms, stamped in gold, are found on several late sixteenth-century bindings,³ and on one of the only three surviving bindings signed by the seventeenth-century gilder, Florimond Badier.⁴ The identity of the central figure on the binding has long been doubtful: Ledieu called it Charlemagne, Weale preferred 'God the Father', Goldschmidt would not commit himself. He need not have been so circumspect: there is at all events nothing whatever to be said in favour of Weale's attribution. In French art at this time God the Father is generally shown in the act of blessing⁵

D. Southwell Cathedral Library, Erasmus, *In Evangelium Lucae paraphrasis*, Basle, 1523.

E. British Museum, Harl. MS. 4953—a Bagford scrap-book.

F. Bodley's Library, Douce scrap-book, 102-4.

¹ Sometimes the shield is blank; sometimes it bears a roundel; sometimes the initials P. L. or T. D. or J. G. (Goldschmidt, No. 68, p. 186; Duff Sale Catalogue, i. 95).

² It is taken from a copy of *Erotemata Chrysolorae*, Paris, 1507, in the Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

³ Olivier, Hermal, and De Roton, *Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées*, Paris, 1924, &c., Nos. 482-3.

⁴ Reproduced in *Bibliographica*, 1895, vol. i, Pl. xv.

⁵ e.g. on the panels of David's penitence and Sarah praying (list, p. 425, Nos. 2 and 4); also in some of the 'four-compartment' panels. A. N. Didron, *Iconographie chrétienne, Histoire de Dieu*, 1843, p. 233, says that God as Pope is characteristic of the fifteenth century: cf. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

and wearing a papal tiara, not an imperial crown: never does He carry a sword. Charlemagne is more plausible; indeed, on a beautiful little fifteenth-century enamel in the Wallace Collection¹ there is a similar figure which must be Charlemagne, for the corresponding figure is St. Louis, and the two were the great national saints and heroes of medieval France. None the less, it is not correct in my opinion to call the figure Charlemagne, for it is copied without any alteration of dress or attitude from the Emperor in the Dance of Death, as shown in woodcuts² and in the borders of Pigouchet's Books of Hours (Fig. 2). If the grim visage of the skeleton were still grinning over the imperial shoulder, this would be obvious enough, but the bookbinder—the eloquent, just, and mighty bookbinder—has eliminated Death and thus obscured the identity of the little Emperor.



Fig. 2

My interpretation is confirmed by an illustration in Justinian's *Institutes*, printed at Paris in 1516,³ where the same figure, seated, appears as the great imperial legislator. This cut is useful for another reason; for it raises the question why so few of these panels are taken from any book illustrations except those of the Horae. It is true that Paris had almost a monopoly

¹ Room 1, No. 49, in the central case containing Works of Art connected with the French Royal House. Charlemagne and St. Louis appear again together in a picture attributed to the school of Paris c. 1480, which is in the Palais de Justice at Paris: see the catalogue of the *Exposition des primitifs français*, 1904, No. 355.

² See e.g. *Catalogue of the fifty . . . books bequeathed to the British Museum by Alfred H. Huth*, 1912, pp. 41 and 47. For the Dance of Death generally—and particularly the part played by Paris in its diffusion—see Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 359 et seq.

³ Fairfax Murray Catalogue of French Books, No. 297, p. 358.

of finely illustrated religious books; but many other lavishly illustrated books were issued there also, and these panels were certainly never intended to be used on devotional works alone. Why again, among the Books of Hours, is there so great a preference for those illustrated by Pigouchet? Surely there is only one possible explanation: most of the illustrations of the period are woodcuts; but Pigouchet's illustrations and the picture of Justinian are printed from metal plates, and so are the panels on the bindings: metal cuts, therefore, and panel stamps have their material and possibly their craftsmen in common.¹

This theory of their close relationship is confirmed by one of the panels which are not taken from the Books of Hours. It represents the Death of the Unicorn,² or the Holy Hunt; and it is taken from a metal cut which is assigned by experts to Arras, and dated c. 1450. The legend which it illustrates was very popular in the later Middle Ages; the Unicorn, a proud, lonely, and beautiful animal, could be caught by no wiles or skill of hunters; but if he saw a Virgin he would run to her, lay his head on her lap, and wait thus till he was captured or killed. The Unicorn symbolizes Christ who was born of a Virgin and slain by cruel hunters: hence, the Virgin in the engraving is attended by many of the attributes which were transferred to Mary from the Song of Solomon—the Garden Enclosed, the Ivory Tower, the Fountain Sealed, the City of God.

Of the companion panel a fragment only remains; but it

¹ But not their technique; metal cuts, like wood-blocks, are printed from raised lines, panels from plates engraved in intaglio.

² The panel is used on a Book of Hours printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, 20 August 1496, which is in the Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rouen: it is reproduced and described in *Les Trésors des bibliothèques de France*, vol. i, p. 80, by M. André Masson: the engraving has been reproduced by G. Courboin, *Histoire illustrée de la gravure en France*, Paris, 1923, Pl. 19, by A. Blum, *Les origines de la gravure en France*, 1927, Pl. XVII, and by Schreiber, *Meisterwerke der Metall-schneidekunst*, Strasburg, 1914, Pl. 4.

seems to represent the Massacre of the Innocents, a subject often illustrated in the Books of Hours.

Four of our six remaining panels come from the same source also, though I have not been able to find the originals of two of them. The first of these shows the Holy Grail¹ (see Pl. VIII a), a subject often found in the Books of Hours: it is associated with a panel of St. Sebastian which bears the name of Gilbert Ferrer. The second has been called the Astrologer² (see Pl. I b), no doubt on account of the starry background; but it has no resemblance to the astrologer who always appears in the Dance of Death, and the scroll which the figure carries makes it more likely that it is taken from one of the Hebrew prophets who are found in the margins of the Books of Hours; these too are often seen against a background of stars (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3

Our two next panels were both used by foreign stationers in London: the well-known 'Redemptoris Mundi Arma' panel of John Reynes³ is copied from a cut used by Thielman Kerver: it has recently been discovered by Mr. Ehrman⁴ that the complex mark which appears on the panel, but not on the illustration, very closely resembles the monogram of Jasper Laet, as shown on a trademark of Gerard Leeu, the Antwerp printer.

¹ This panel is undescribed by Weale or Goldschmidt: the Ferrer panel is Weale, *R.* 493; the two panels together are found on bindings in the town library of Reims (Michel de Hongrie, *Sermones*, Lyons, 1495) and in the Bibliothèque Méjanes at Aix-en-Provence (Quintilian, *Opera*, Venice, 1493).

² The only example of this panel that I have seen is on a copy of Socinus, *Regule*, Lyons, 1524, in the Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge. The panel is Weale's *R.* 162—probably taken from this book. It has been suggested to me that it represents Aaron with his rod (Numbers xvii): the robes are certainly like those of a high priest, but I think Aaron would wear the breastplate of Urim and Thummim.

³ Goldschmidt, No. 140, p. 232.

⁴ See *The Library*, Fourth Series, vol. xi, p. 104.

Mr. Ehrman suggests that Reynes' panel was engraved by some one connected with Leeu's establishment; if so, it must have been long after Leeu's death, for he was killed by one of his own workmen in 1493, seventeen years before Reynes settled in London, and at least as long before the panel can have been engraved;¹ nor can I find that Laet used the mark after Leeu's death. However, the panel may have been engraved at Antwerp, which was in close touch with the English book-trade: many books were printed there for the English market, including the latest volume on which Reynes'² name appears, a Sarum Processional printed in 1544 by the widow of Christopher van Ruremond. Antwerp may well have been the link between Reynes and Kerver, for the latter printed several Flemish Horae.

A much rarer panel³ copied from Pigouchet's device was owned by Frederick Egmont, who was in business at London or Paris between 1493 and 1527. This and the foregoing panel show once more how strong was the influence of the designs in the Books of Hours, both in England and the Netherlands.

A panel similar in type to those of Reynes and Egmont belonged to Denis Roce, the Parisian Stationer, and is copied from one of his devices (see Pl. VIII b). It is found on books in the libraries at Brussels and Poitiers,⁴ accompanying his four-compartment panel of the Flemish type, of which I have already

¹ The panel may be a good deal later than 1510, for the cut from which it is taken seems to be a compound of Kerver's trademarks—some of which have unicorn supporters (Ph. Renouard, *Marques typographiques*, Nos. 502-5)—and a cut of 'Redemptoris Mundi Arma' without unicorns which appears in a Book of Hours issued by his widow in 1522 (Lacombe 324). The inference, I think, is that the original of the panel, and therefore the panel itself, are later than 1522: the cut was certainly in use as late as 1547, when it appears on the title of the Decretals of Gregory IX. I owe this information to MM. R. Brun and E. Dacier, of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

² See Gordon Duff, *Printers, &c., of Westminster and London*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 200. ³ See Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15, for a reproduction and notice.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 398, n. 1.

spoken (p. 398): it is probably a good deal earlier than the Reynes and Egmont panels, for the device from which it is taken



Fig. 4

(Renouard, *Marques*, No. 1003) (Fig. 4) was in use in 1493, and the accompanying panel is certainly early.

Yet another of these heraldic panels shows a shield which bears the initials D.M.: it is supported by two griffins and has above it a winged helmet and foliage. It is used on a copy of N. de Orbellis, *Egregia . . . expositio*, Paris, J. Richard, 1498, in the collection of Monsieur Gruel.

It may be asked—if all these panels are Parisian in character—what remains for the provinces? Very little, in my opinion: that is to say, very few panels seem to have been engraved outside Paris, though I have already mentioned ten Parisian panels which were used in the provinces—two each at Angers and Le Mans, and six in Normandy (see Appendix II). This province indeed seems to have been the only part of France, except the capital, where the panel stamp was really popular: eleven other panels used there are known to me, and all may be of local workmanship. Jean Huvin¹ of Rouen owned a badly engraved panel of St. Michael and St. Nicholas which does not resemble any of the Parisian types; and the same may be said of two panels² of St. George bearing the arms of Normandy and Rouen respectively, accompanied by panels of St. Michael and St. Sebastian.

Richard Macé³ of Caen used panels of the Annunciation and the Coronation of the Virgin⁴ which may be either local or Parisian: they are difficult to judge because, though not uncommon, they seem to be always in bad condition; after his retirement in 1520 they were exported to England. Finally Goldschmidt (p. 190) has shown that two well-known panels of

¹ Reproduced by Gruel, ii, p. 95.

² *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, pp. 53-4, Nos. 7 and 8. I do not think that any of the nine panels of St. George recorded there is of Parisian workmanship or design.

³ Goldschmidt (pp. 222-3) thinks that these panels belonged to Robert Macé, who was working from 1520 or earlier till 1557. I think it is more reasonable to suppose that they were owned by Richard, and exported to England after his retirement. They were certainly used in England during the lifetime of Robert Macé, and there is no evidence that he visited this country. Seven books decorated with these panels are known, printed respectively 1506, 1507, 1509, 1514, 1515, 1524, and 1533: all are in England, except the second in date, which belongs to Monsieur Gruel.

⁴ Goldschmidt, Pl. XLVIII. Weale (xxii) thinks that the Coronation of the Virgin was copied from a cut used by Martin Morin at Rouen; but it is very like cuts in the Paris Books of Hours.

St. George and St. Michael, though certainly used in England, come from the same French workshop as panels of St. John Baptist and St. Barbara, one of which bears a shield with the lilies of France—and these four panels are probably Norman also. They are certainly not Parisian, for St. Michael wears the flowing robes of an archangel, not the plate armour of a knight, as on Parisian and Netherlands panels, and in the Mystery Plays:¹ no Parisian bookseller would have accepted him in this very old-fashioned attire.

One panel at least is found at Sens,² and probably went there from Paris; but a very curious little panel used at the Abbey of Beaupré in the diocese of Beauvais is almost certainly of local workmanship, and a few panels of the Netherlands type doubtless come from towns in what is now French Flanders.

But the predominance of Paris is unquestionable: Paris alone had a homogeneous local style and a standardized mass production; as Mâle says (*op. cit.*, p. 424): 'Paris était déjà 'ce qu'il est aujourd'hui, la ville qui crée, et dont les œuvres 's'envoient au loin': it is certain that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century Paris not only influenced design in England and the Netherlands, but also had a great export trade in panel stamps and in bindings decorated with them. Recognition of this helps to explain the slowness with which the new invention of gold tooling made its way in France. Gold-tooled bindings were being produced in Italy before 1490, and they were common before 1500: a few French bindings decorated in this way date from the reign of Louis XII, but they were very rare even at Paris, till after 1520, and they never reached the Italian standard till 1535 or later. The gold-tooled leather bindings of Francis I all date from the last years of his reign, and the great series of Grolier's bindings with his name and motto does not begin till after 1535. This seems strange at first sight, in

¹ Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 72. For the panels see e.g. Weale, *R.* 420 and 517.

² For this and the following panel see *ante*, p. 413, n. 1 E; p. 412, n. 1 B.

view of the very close relations between France and Italy from the expedition of Charles VIII in 1494 to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559; but it is easy to understand that a community which was doing so large a business in the Gothic blind-stamped bindings would be slow to adopt a new mode which in manner and technique broke altogether with tradition: probably the first exponents of the *dolce stil nuovo* had as unpleasant a reception from the embattled binders of Paris as the unfortunate Fust received from the professional scribes when he tried to sell printed books there a generation earlier.

APPENDIX I

Subjects of Gothic panels engraved at Paris or inspired by Parisian Art.

An asterisk denotes that the subject is found in Books of Hours printed at Paris; but the cuts are not necessarily the originals of the panels.

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

- *1. Jesse Tree; see p. 403.
- *2. David praying in penitence; see p. 404; three panels.
- *3. David and Bathsheba; see p. 404; three panels, one used in Normandy.
- 4. Sarah praying; see p. 403, n. 1.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

- *5. The Annunciation;¹ see p. 399; many panels, the majority used in the Netherlands and England.
- *6. The Shepherds; see p. 407; used in England only.
- *7. The Adoration of the Magi; see p. 404; used in Normandy only.
- *8. The Massacre of the Innocents; see p. 420; a fragment only.
- *9. Christ and the woman of Samaria; see p. 406; two panels, one engraved and used in England.
- *10. Christ at the Column; see p. 402.
- 11. The Man of Sorrows; see p. 414; used in Normandy only.

¹ I should perhaps have made two types of this scene; the panel used by Jehan Dupin (Gruel, i, p. 90), though the attitudes of the two figures are normal, shows the scene taking place out of doors.

- *12. Christ bearing the Cross; see p. 409, n. 4.
- *13. The Crucifixion; see p. 406; several panels.
- *14. Our Lady of Pity; see p. 407; as a separate panel, used in England only.
- *15. Christ and the Magdalen; see p. 406; two panels.
- *16. Pentecost; see p. 406, n. 3.
- *17. Coronation of the Virgin; see p. 423; used at Caen and in England only.
- 18. The Virgin of the Apocalypse; see p. 400.

C. SAINTS.

- 19. The 'four-compartment' panels; see p. 407; twenty-one panels; used at Le Mans and in England also.
- 20. Two-saint panels;¹ see p. 415, n. 5.
- *21. Barbara; see p. 410, n. 5, and p. 424; several panels; one used in England.
- 22. Bernard, see p. 414; one panel; used in England also.
- *23. Christopher; see p. 409; two panels.
- 24. Deimbert; see p. 413, n. 1 E; used at Sens only.
- *25. Francis of Assisi;² at least two panels:
 - (a) St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. 19, with St. Michael in armour.
 - (b) G. Dunn Sale Catalogue, Lot 3539 (Paris, c. 1506).
- *26-7. Gregory the Great; two types:
 - 26. Two panels, one used in England, the other exported to S. Germany; see p. 410, n. 7.
 - 27. A panel which belonged to Hémon Lefèvre; see p. 411.
- 28-31. James the Greater; four types:
 - *28. As pilgrim;³ see Goldschmidt, No. 78, pp. 192-3.
 - 29. As pilgrim⁴ again; see Goldschmidt, No. 111, p. 212.
 - 30. Holding up the man unjustly hanged. Reproduced Gordon Duff Sale Catalogue, Part 1, Lot 178; used in England only.
 - 31. With kneeling figures of a man and woman; owned by Jacques Moeraert.

¹ This is a definite type of panel, but two saints appear also in panels used by Jean Huvin and Julian des Jardins.

² This saint figures also in Netherlands panels; Goldschmidt, No. 89, p. 199.

³ This type resembles the figures of the saint in the 'four-compartment' panels.

⁴ Also used on a book printed at Lyons, 1512, in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and on a book printed at Paris in 1523 at All Souls College, Oxford (Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, A. 54).

N.B. The panel of St. James as Pilgrim reproduced in the Duff Catalogue, Lot 59, is not a Parisian type.

32-3. John Baptist; two types:

*32. Preaching; see p. 401; many panels; used in the Netherlands and England also.

*33. Carrying lamb;¹ several panels; Weale, *R.* 378, 506, 508, 512, 514.

34-5. John Evangelist; two types:

*34. Holding the poisoned cup; see Goldschmidt, No. 108, p. 211.

*35. Writing in Patmos; at least two panels, Goldschmidt, No. 78, p. 193, and K. Westendorp, *Die Kunst der alten Buchbinder*, Halle a. d. Saale, 1909, Pl. 15.

36. Julian; see p. 413; used at Le Mans only.

37. Martin; see p. 409, n. 2.

38-9. Maurice and Maurilius; see p. 413; used at Angers only.

*40. Michael; in armour; see p. 424, n. 1; many panels; some used in the Netherlands.

*41. Nicholas; at least two panels; one used by Mathei, the other at Cambridge by Spierinck (see Appendix III).

*42. Roch; see p. 401; several panels; some used at Cologne, in England, or the Netherlands.

43. Romanus; see p. 414; used at Rouen only.

*44. Sebastian; many panels; one possibly used in the Netherlands. (Hulshof and Schretlen, Pl. XXXV.)

*45. Stephen; see p. 409.

*46. Veronica; see p. 409.

47. Yves; see Goldschmidt, No. 67, p. 185.

Making twenty-one saints; in addition SS. Katherine of Siena and Thomas Aquinas appear on the Crucifixion panel of André Boule (see p. 406): *St. Paul and a saint carrying a carpenter's square on a two-saint panel (see p. 415, n. 5);

¹ A curious feature of some of these panels (506, 508, 512, and 504, a four-compartment panel) is the head which lies between the saint's feet; so far as I know this has never been discussed, but I believe it symbolizes his diet of locusts, which according to Caxton's *Golden Legend* were 'not such as we have here 'that we call honeysuckles; some say that it is flesh of some beasts that abound 'in the desert of Judea'. The head is sometimes half human, sometimes wholly animal; it would be natural for locusts to be vague, mysterious, and terrible, like the Apocalyptic locusts described in Revelations ix. 7-10. How common the feature is in representations of the Baptist apart from the panels I do not know; but it is found again in a wooden statue c. 1515 in the Church of Reisbach, Bavaria (Dr. Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der Heiligen*, Freiburg i. B. 1926, p. 335).

and five saints on 'four-compartment' panels—*Claude, *Geneviève, George, *Katherine of Egypt, and *Peter; making thirty in all.

D. MISCELLANEOUS.

I. *Historiated.*

- 48-9. The vision of Ara Coeli; two types :
 - *48. The Norvins panel; see p. 415.
 - *49. The Ushaw panel; see p. 415.
- *50. The Emperor; see p. 417; several panels.
- 51. The Holy Hunt; see p. 419.
- *52. The Prophet; see p. 420.
- *53. The Holy Grail; see p. 420.
- 54-5. The Moulin panels; see p. 416; used at Rouen.

II. *Heraldic.*

- *56. Reynes' 'Redemptoris Mundi Arma' panel; see p. 420; used in England only.
- *57. Egmont's panel; see p. 421; used in England only.
- *58. The panel copied from the device of Roce; see p. 422.
- 59. The 'D. M.' panel; see p. 422.

III. *Decorative.*

- 60. The Acorn panel; see p. 398; many panels; some used in the Netherlands and England.
- 61. Strips of foliage; used by Denys and Guiot; see p. 413, n. 1 D.
- 62. The Flemish type; used by Denis Roce; see p. 398.
- 63. A central shaft with rings, volutes, foliage, &c. Weale, R. 508.
- 64. The Tudor Rose and border; see p. 407, n. 3.

APPENDIX II

Gothic Panels used in the French Provinces.

A. IN NORMANDY

I. *Probably engraved at Paris.*

- a. (3). David and Bathsheba; used with
- b. (7). The Adoration of the Magi.
- c. (11). The Man of Sorrows; used with
- d. (43). St. Romanus.
- e and f. (54-5). The Moulin panels.

II. *Probably engraved in Normandy.*

- g-j. St. George.
- g. With arms of Normandy; see *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 53, No. 7.
- h. With arms of Rouen; see *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, p. 54, No. 8.
- j. A large panel; Weale, R. 86.
- k. St. Sebastian; companion to g.
- l. St. Michael; companion to b.
- m. St. Michael; companion to j.
- n. St. John Baptist, Goldschmidt, No. 74, p. 189.
- o. St. Barbara; companion to n.
- p. St. Michael and St. Nicholas; used by Jean Huvin; see p. 426, n. 1.
- q. The Annunciation; used by Richard Macé; see p. 423.
- r. The Coronation of the Virgin; companion to q.

B. IN OTHER PROVINCIAL TOWNS

I. *Probably engraved at Paris.*

- s-t. (38-9). SS. Maurice and Maurilius; used at Angers.
- v-w. (19 and 36). St. Julian and a four-compartment panel; used at Le Mans.
- x. St. Deimbert (24); used at Sens.

II. *Probably engraved locally.*

- y. The Virgin and a monk; used at the abbey of Beaupré, in the Diocese of Beauvais, by Brother Matthew (?) Warnn (?); see p. 412, n. 1 B.

In all, twenty-three panels used in the provinces, of which eleven were probably engraved at Paris; the two panels of Guillaume Baudart, too (see Appendix III), may be Norman.

APPENDIX III

Owners of Parisian Gothic panels or rolls.

All these names, except 4, 12, 19, 21, and 30 are in Goldschmidt's index.

The words 'companion panel' indicate a panel without any mark of ownership which is used on the same binding as a named panel.

- 1. *Alexandre, Clément*: at Angers, 1510-38; owned a panel of St. Maurice (also found without his name); companion panel, St. Maurilius; see p. 412.

2. *Alyat, Alexandre*: at Paris, 1492-1507; owned a panel of Christ at the Column (also found without his name); companion panels—to the named panel, acorns: to the unnamed, four saints; see p. 402.
3. *Angelier, Gilet*: unknown, but presumably related to the brothers Charles and Arnould Angelier, who were at Paris 1535-62; owned a panel of St. Christopher; companion panel, Christ and the Magdalen; see p. 409.
4. *Baudart, Guillaume*: unknown; owned panels of St. Michael and St. Sebastian; found only on Hatton MS. 63 (SC 4034) in Bodley's Library, a late fourteenth-century Sarum Breviary written in England, which seems never to have been out of this country. The panels are mounted on a modern binding: they might be of Norman workmanship, and their export to England makes this doubly probable.
5. *Bayeux, Edmond*: unknown; owned two small panels of the Annunciation and St. Sebastian, used on a book printed at Paris in 1493.
6. *Boule, André*: unknown, but almost certainly related to Pierre and Jean Boule, booksellers and binders at Paris between 1499 and 1543; owned panels of the Crucifixion and St. Sebastian; see p. 406.
7. *Chevallon, Claude*: at Paris, 1511-37; owned a roll with his rebus.
8. *Collen, Hans van* (John of Cologne): unknown; working 1545; owned an acorn panel, which is so close to the acorn panel of Jean Norvins that it may have been engraved at Paris. The form 'Hans' does not prove that the owner lived in Holland or Germany: in 1490 Thielman Kerver printed a pamphlet at Paris for 'Hanse de Coblencz'. (See Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, p. 75.)
9. *Coulombes or Coulonces, Jean de*: at Paris, 1492-1505; owned panels of St. John Baptist carrying lamb, and St. Barbara; companion panel, St. John Baptist preaching (Weale, R. 506-7).
10. *Denys, Toussaint*: at Paris, 1515-29; owned a panel with strips of floral and foliate ornament, very like that used by Guiot.
11. *Des Jardins, Julien*: unknown, but probably a relative of Pierre des Jardins, printer at Paris in 1529 (Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, p. 97); owned a panel of SS. Barbara and Sebastian; companion panel, St. Yves.
12. *Dreux, Jehan*: unknown; at Le Mans; owned a panel of St. Julian, Bishop of Le Mans; companion panel, four saints (see p. 412).
13. *Dupin, Jean*: unknown, but a Jean Dupin—perhaps a son—was in business as bookseller at Paris in 1543 (Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, p. 111); owned two panels, one of the Annunciation, the other of SS. Barbara and Nicholas.
14. *Egmont, Frederick*: London, 1493-1502, Paris, 1517-20; owned two panels, one of woodhouses supporting a shield with his mark and initials, another of a Tudor Rose with a border of foliate; companion panel, strips of foliate; see p. 421; p. 407, n. 3; Duff, *Westminster . . . Printers*, p. 115.

15. *Ferrer, Gilbert* : unknown ; owned a panel of St. Sebastian (Weale, *R.* 493) ; companion panel, the Holy Grail (see p. 420).
16. *Gérard, P.* : unknown, but a Jean Gérard was a proof reader at Paris in 1507 (Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, p. 146) and another was a bookseller and printer at Geneva, 1537-54 (Silvestre, No. 577) ; owned a panel of the Crucifixion ; companion panel, Pentecost with initials S.G., or St. Michael with the arms of France.
Gipot, Pierre : see Guiot.
17. *Gourmont, Robert de* : at Paris, 1498-1518 ; owned several rolls, one with his coat of arms.
18. *Guérin le camus*, ? = snub-nosed Guérin : ¹ unknown ; but Jean, Guillaume, and Jean Guérin were booksellers at Paris 1535-89 ; owned panels of the Crucifixion and Pentecost closely resembling those of P. Gérard.
19. *Guiot, Pierre* : this name was read by Gruel as Grant and by Goldschmidt and others as Gipot ; the reading Guiot was proposed by Auguste Castan (1833-92), keeper of the Public Library at Besançon, in his catalogue of its incunables, published there posthumously in 1893 (No. 430). I adopt it because the name Gipot seems to be unknown in the French book trade of the period, whereas Guiot or Guyot is common : Jean Guyot was at Troyes in 1465, and four members of the family were at Paris between 1529 and 1628 ; Pierre owned two panels, a four-compartment panel and a panel with strips of foliage.
20. *Jacobi, Henry* : London, Paris, and Oxford, 1505-14 ; owned a panel of Our Lady of Pity, with other panels not Parisian in character ; see p. 407, and Weale, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
21. *Jore, Jean des or de St.* : unknown, but at Caen or Rouen ; owned two panels : (1) David and Bathsheba ; (2) the Magi (see p. 404).
22. *Lalyseau, Jean* : at Paris, 1499-1530 ; owned a panel of St. John Baptist preaching, see p. 401.
23. *Le Fèvre Hémon*, or *Edmond* : at Paris, 1511-35 ; owned two panels : (1) St. Sebastian, apparently the panel found more frequently with the name André Boule ; (2) St. Gregory : companion panel to the latter, St. Sebastian, owned by Denis Roce ; see p. 411.
Le Camus, Guérin : see Guérin.
24. *Macé, Richard* : at Caen, 1506-20 ; owned a panel of the Coronation of the Virgin ; companion panel, the Annunciation ; see p. 423.
25. *Marnef, G. de* : at Paris, 1493-1518 ; owned a panel with strips of foliage.

¹ But *Le Camus* was a proper name: Nicholas *Le Camus* owned two illuminated Horae towards the end of the sixteenth century : see J. Meurgey, *Les principaux MSS. à peintures du Musée Condé*, Paris, 1930, pp. 152-4.

26. *Mathei, Nicholas*: unknown; owned a panel of St. Nicholas.
27. *Moeraert, Jacques*: at Paris, 1481-1501; owned two panels: (1) St. James with two kneeling figures, clearly copied from a miniature in a manuscript Horae; (2) the Annunciation; see p. 399.
28. *Moulin, Jean*: probably Jean du Moulin of Rouen, working 1519; owned two panels of a miller and his donkey; see p. 416.
29. *Norvins, Jean*: unknown, but probably at Paris; working as late as 1542; owned four panels: (1) acorns; (2) David and Bathsheba; (3) St. Michael; (4) The vision of Ara Coeli; 1 is always used alone, 2 and 3 together, 4 is accompanied by St. Bernard; see pp. 404 and 415.
30. *Pape* (i.e. Pavia) *Laurentius de*: unknown; owned a small panel of the Annunciation, which is known only from a specimen formerly in the Gordon Duff Library (Part 1, Lot 157; sold at Sotheby's, 16 March 1925).
Perard, G.: see Gérard.
31. *Reynes, John*: at London, 1510-44; owned a panel of the 'Redemptoris Mundi Arma' copied from a woodcut used by Thielman Kerver; also several other panels which are not Parisian in character; see p. 420.
32. *Richard, Theodore*: unknown, but the surname was common in the world of booksellers: Guillaume, Thomas, Richard, and Emmanuel being in business at Paris between 1533 and 1597; also Jean Richart, 1497-1517. Another Jehan Richart was in business at Tours in 1536, and a Jehan Richard at Rouen, 1489-1515 (Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, pp. 319-20; Silvestre 261 and 262; Polain 209). Theodore Richard owned a small panel of St. Barbara, known only on a book printed in 1493.
33. *Roce, Denis*: at Paris, 1494-1517; owned four panels: (1) with four panels of the Flemish type; (2) copied from his device; (3) four saints; (4) St. Sebastian; 1 and 2 were used together; companion panel to 3, acorns, to 4, St. Gregory, owned by Hémon Le Fèvre; see pp. 398, 421, and 411.
34. *Ruwe, Andrew*: at London, died 1517; owned a panel of the Annunciation, and another of St. John Baptist, preaching; the companion panels of the Baptism of Christ and of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne are not Parisian in character; see *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries*, pp. 62-3.
35. *Siberch, John*: at Cambridge, 1520-53; panels of SS. Roch and John Baptist preaching are found on a binding which also bears a roll that belonged to him.
36. *Spierinck, Nicholas*: at Cambridge, 1505-46; owned a panel of St. Nicholas; companion panel, the Annunciation.

APPENDIX IV

Binders at Paris, 1490-1535.

Renouard=Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens* . . . , Paris, 1898.

Documents=Ph. Renouard, *Documents sur les imprimeurs* . . . ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600, Paris, 1901.

Where no reference is given the name will be found in Goldschmidt's index.

1. Arques, Pierre d', 1518-19; Renouard, p. 6.
2. Auger, Guillaume, 1504.
3. Blanchet, Jacques, 1528-56; Renouard, p. 32.
4. Boisset, Rémy, 1529-57; Renouard, p. 35.
5. Bolsec, Hervé, 1516-29; Renouard, p. 35.
6. Bonnemère, Antoine, 1525.
7. Boule, Pierre, 1499-1508.
8. Brie, J. de, 1515-21.
9. Burgyne, Jean, 1528.
10. Challot, Robin, 1504.
11. Champion, Jean, 1522.
12. Choynet, François, 1529; Renouard, p. 73.
13. Cholin, 1533.
14. Chupin, Jean, 1526-61; Renouard, p. 73.
15. Chupin, Pierre, 1529-40; Renouard, p. 73.
16. Coignart, Gervais, 1500-10; Renouard, p. 76; Documents, p. 56.
17. Crespin, Nicholas, 1519-28.
18. Cuques, Claude, 1529; Renouard, p. 88.
19. Denys, Hierosme, 1533.
20. Du Hamel, Etienne, 1535; Renouard, p. 110.
21. Eustace, Guillaume, 1512-33.
22. Florentin, Jacques; 1510-19.
23. Guion or Guyon, Guillaume, 1488-94; Documents, p. 119.
24. Hémon, Bernard, 1487-92; Renouard, p. 178.
25. Ingouville, Eustache d', 1492.
26. Laliseau, Raoul, 1521.
27. La Noue, Robert de, 1509-10.
28. Le Bouc, Jacques (the first), 1523, died before 1557; Renouard, p. 220.
29. Le Breton, Jean, 1495, died before 1530; Renouard, p. 222.
30. Le Noir, Philippe, 1520-41.

31. Maisantaiz, Jean de, 1497 ; Renouard, p. 255.
32. Marchant, Michel, c. 1520-40 ; Renouard, p. 258.
33. Ogier, Guillaume, 1492.
34. Roffet, Pierre, 1511-37.
35. Viart, Pierre, 1521-5.
36. Vostre, Simon, 1520.
37. Yvernel or Yvernet, Jean, 1529-46 ; Renouard, p. 375.

XUM



a (p. 400)



b (p. 420)

PLATE I

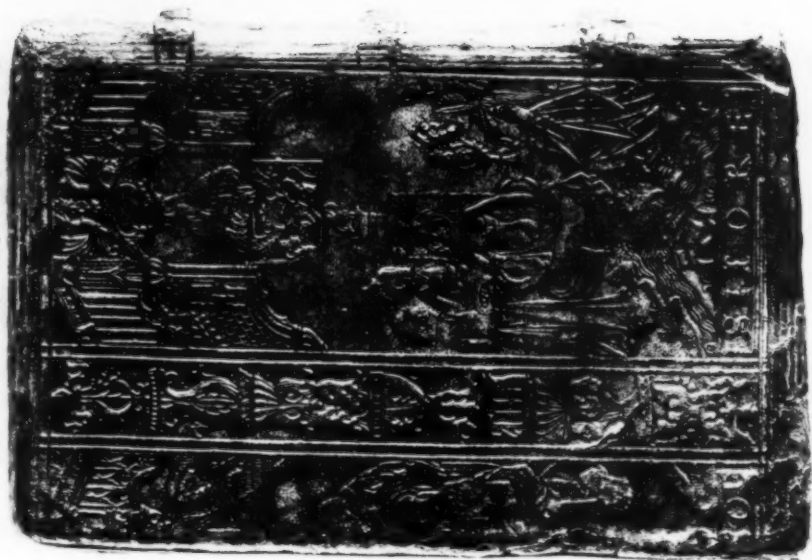


PLATE II (p. 404)

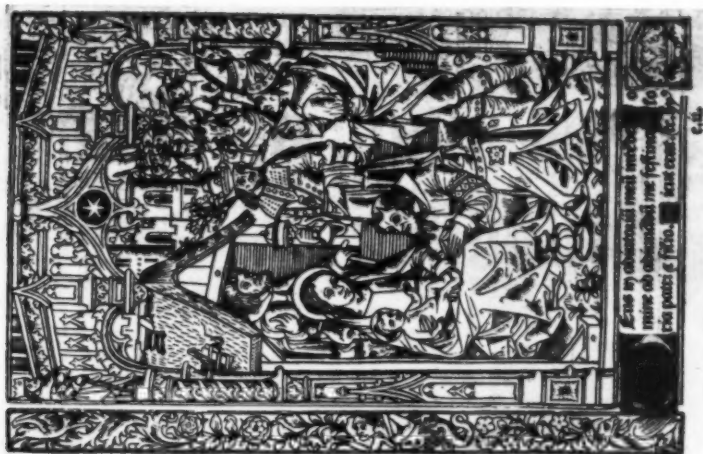
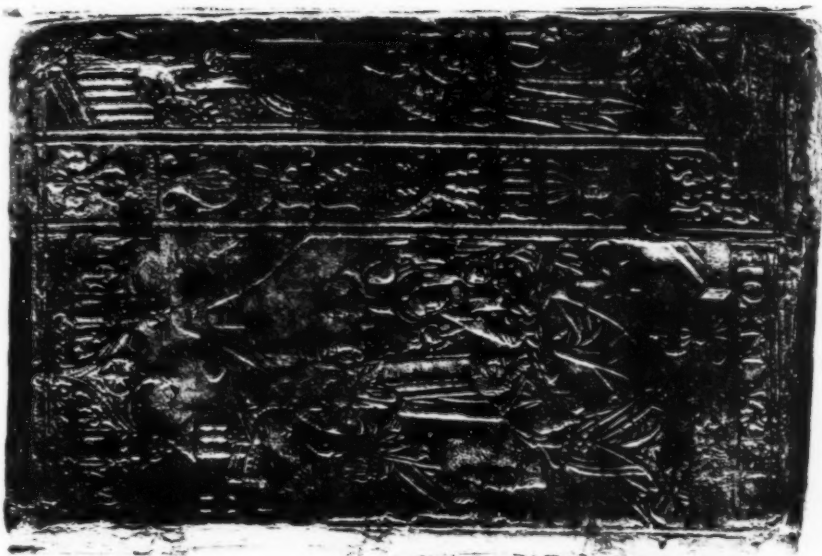


PLATE III (p. 404)



a (p. 400)



b (p. 407)

PLATE IV

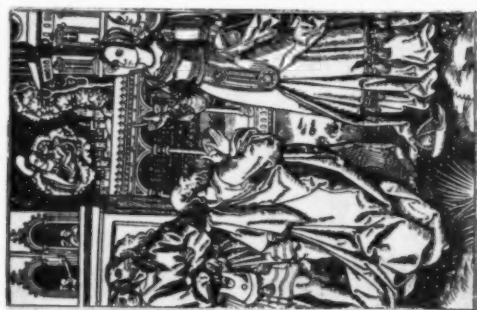
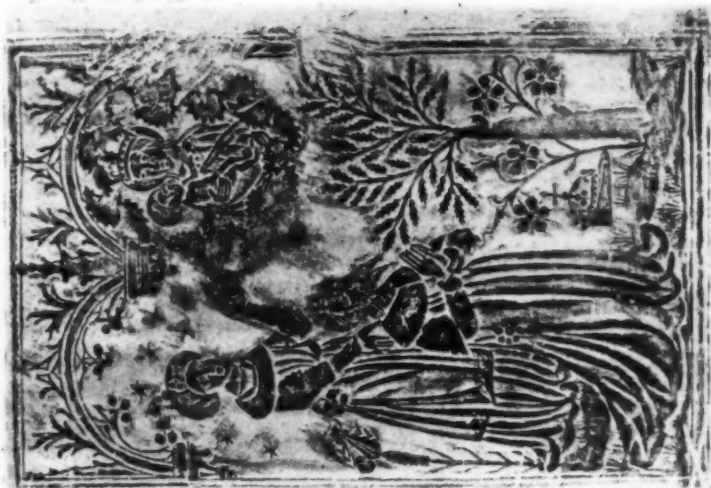
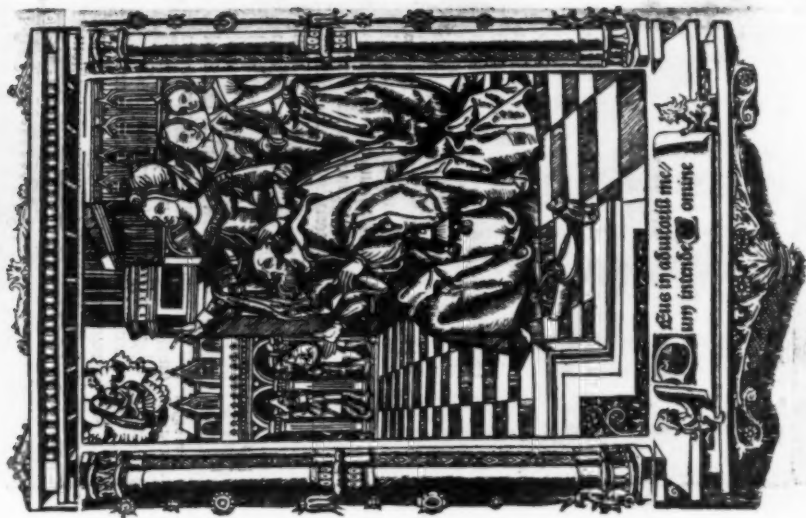


PLATE V (p. 415)



229/87

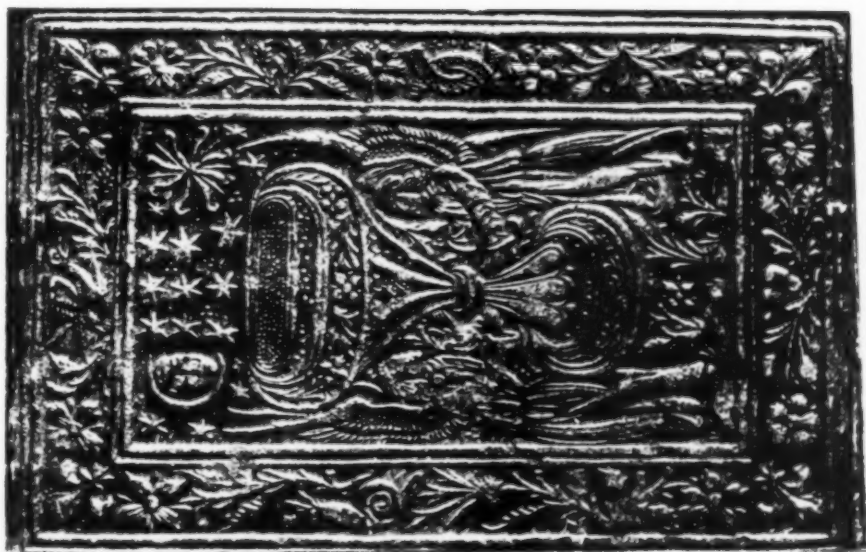


Deus in adiutorio meo
omnino intende

PLATE VI (p. 415)

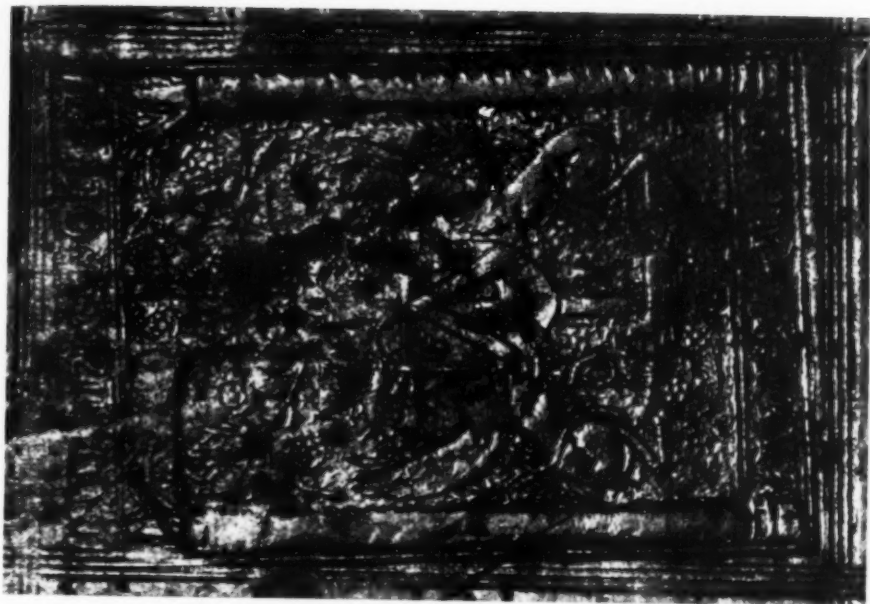


PLATE VII (p. 417)



a (p. 420)

PLATE VIII



b (p. 421)

SOME NOTES ON THE LIBRARY OF PRINTED BOOKS AT HOLKHAM

By C. W. JAMES¹



THE story of the Library of Printed Books at Holkham may be divided into four periods. Firstly, there are the survivors of the books brought together by Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634) with certain other books of his time or earlier. Secondly, there is the splendid collection made, chiefly during his travels on the Continent, 1712-18, by his descendant, Thomas Coke, first Earl of Leicester (1697-1759). He remained a buyer of books up to the time of his death in 1759, but the more important part of the Library is that which he collected when he was still scarcely more than a boy. Thirdly, there was a short period of activity in the Library, 1816-24, when Mr. Thomas Wm. Coke, urged by William Roscoe, allowed the manuscripts and a good many printed books to be repaired and bound, and bought half a dozen books of first rate importance at the sale of Roscoe's Library. The fourth period covers the years 1842-60, when the late Lord Leicester allowed his librarian, the Reverend Mr. Collyer, Rector of a neighbouring parish, at the prompting of an admirable person whose name should not be forgotten at Holkham, one Mr. Francis Chantrey, to rescue a considerable portion of the old Library from the dilapidated condition into which it had fallen, to compile the Catalogue, or rather Inventory, and to add a number of stately folios to the lower shelves of the principal or 'Long' Library.

I. Chief Justice Coke's father was a Barrister, and it might be supposed that there would be a considerable number of early Law Books at Holkham. But no. The future legal

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society on Monday, 15 December 1930.

luminary was but a little boy when his father died, and the wise widow disposed of all Robert Coke's books but three. One is Pynson's *Nova Statuta*, 1497, in which the Chief Justice has written, 'Received of Master Crowe who had all my Father's books'; another is a great *Liber Intrationum*, Henry Smyth, 1545, in which the mother has put her name, 'Wenefred Coke, widow', and son Edward has added '*Scripta manu propria matris*'. The third is a little undated '*Glanville*' (*Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus*), from the press of Tottel; the Short Title Catalogue has overlooked the existence of this.

When the Chief Justice was an old man, he caused a Catalogue of his books to be made which claims to be complete, but is not so; for Holkham can show several volumes bearing his autograph, or his initials, or his coat of arms on the covers, which are not in his Catalogue. This induces the belief that a large number of little contemporary books and tracts may have been his, but were not considered important enough for his autograph or his sumptuous binding. Their presence is hardly to be accounted for otherwise, for among his successors there was no Heber or Christie-Miller likely to have bought such humble looking little objects, unless, indeed, we owe some of them to one Mr. Ferrari, librarian to Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester in George II's reign. There are hundreds of small octavos and duodecimos from Elizabethan and Jacobean presses which I think may have felt the finger and thumb of the great lawyer. However that may be, there remain to the Cokes about 600 volumes which almost certainly belonged to their eminent ancestor.

He set his descendants an example of classification which was not followed when the Library was rearranged early in the nineteenth century. Thus, he begins his Catalogue with a list of 220 volumes of Divinity followed by 40 'Popish books'. Then come 120 Books of the Law, 'because they are derived from the Lawes of God'. Then, 200 Histories, Greek, Latin,

English, French, and Italian, 'forasmuch as approved histories 'are necessary for a jurisconsult, for he that hath read them 'seemeth to have lived in former ages'. Then follow 60 books of 'Philosophy, Rethoricke, Grammar, Lodgic and Schoolbooks, 'for they are handmaids to the knowledge of the Laws'. And so we come to Dictionaries, 33 of them, for they are 'aides and helps to all that went before and follow after'. Then, 'foras- 'much as there is no knowledge of any worthy science but may 'stand a jurisconsult in stead at one tyme or another', we find 'Books de Republica, concerning Herauldry and Armies, Cosmo- 'graphy, Mathematiques, Books of Trade, of Warre and the 'like, of Agriculture and Architecture'. About 80 of these. Next, forasmuch as 'Morbi neglecta curatio corpus interficit', come 33 books of Phisick and Naturell Philosophy—a liberal allowance for a man who boasted on his death-bed that he had never taken physic since he was born.

These medical works duly enumerated (Paynell's *Regiment of Health*, printed by Wm. How, 1575, and the fine copy of Ambroise Paré's *Works*, Paris, 1579, are the most interesting of the few that have survived), we read, 'and seeing that et pro- 'desse solent et delectare poetae, in the next place shall follow 'books of poetrie'. Of these there are 66. The Catalogue concludes with some 200 'Tracts and Discourses, English, French, and Italian'.

Clearly Dr. Johnson was right when he said that Sir Edward Coke was not a man of letters. He had no travelling library like that which his contemporary, Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls, carried in his baggage when he went abroad. Yet he retained through life a tincture of scholarship, and could and did compose very fair Latin Elegiacs till he was an old man. He owned copies of almost all the Greek and Latin classics, and translations of many of them, so that he was not an entirely unlettered man.

As the Chief Justice bought books up to a little after 1630—

one of the last to be bought was Peter Lombard's *Commentarius de Regno Hiberniae*, Louvain, 1632, the book which Lord Deputy Strafford commanded to be burnt—I will here mention some noteworthy books, printed in or for England up to that date, which are at Holkham now, whether they belonged to him or not.

The earliest is Caxton's *Propositio Johannis Russell*, probably of 1476, the only other copy of which is at Ryland's. Machlinia's *Nova Statuta*, probably 1482, is here. There are three from the press of Wynkyn de Worde: (i) the *Speculum Vitae Christi*, in Caxton's No. 7 type, Westminster, 1494; this, I believe, is the only perfect copy known; it belonged to Dr. John Dee; (ii) *The Craft to Live and Die Well*, 1505, all the woodcuts very perfect; (iii) the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus, 1533. From Pynson, besides the *Nova Statuta* of 1497, we have Statham's *Abridgement*, also the *Tenores Novelli*, both printed for him by Wm. le Talleur of Rouen, perhaps in 1490; a *Natura Brevium*, sine anno, but with Pynson's large mark; Littleton's *Tenures*, perhaps of 1523, the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, 1521; and a pretty little duodecimo *Magna Carta*, 1527, in its original vellum covers, and bearing Edward Coke's autograph. I do not find this recorded in other libraries. All these are very fine copies. With them must be mentioned the three great volumes of Fitzherbert's *La Graunde Abbregeement de le Ley*, printed by John Rastell, 1516. A notable rarity is Tyndale's *Pentateuch*, 1530. This has Edward Coke's name on the first leaf of Genesis, so the first eight leaves were doubtless already lost when he obtained the book. Otherwise it is perfect.

There are many law books from the presses of Redman, Berthelet and others with marginalia by the Chief Justice, but there is no indication of ownership in the fine Early English Bibles, among which the copy of Coverdale's, regarded as one of the first issued, with a unique title-page, is well known. The

only Bible which bears Coke's name and marks of constant use, is a small Latin one, Thielman Kerver, 1534. Of books unquestionably his, special mention should be made of two splendid volumes which bear the great signature of Matthew Parker, Archbishop. One is the finest possible copy of *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, the pictures richly coloured, and with the portrait of Parker. The other is a 'Glanville' of 1488 from the press of the unnamed Heidelberg printer, called by Proctor, 'the printer of Lindelbach' (i.e. of his *Praecepta Latinitatis*, 1486). These were given to Coke by John Parker, the Archbishop's son. A copy of that rare book, Archbishop Parker's *Psalter*, John Daye, 1557, is also at Holkham.

Among other veterans not likely to have been bought by the chief begetter of the Library, Thomas Coke, whose taste was for finely printed classics, there are the *Aequivoca* (imp.) and *Synonyma* attributed to Garland, printed by Baligault and by Hopyl, both in 1494, and the Exposition of Sarum Hymns and Sequences (Quentell, 1496). These are in contemporary binding. There are also a Sarum Horæ by Regnault, 1527, which gives some Rubrics and Prayers in English, Robt. Valentin's Sarum Processional, Rouen, 1557, and Sarum Baptismal and other offices, Douay, 1604 and 1610. Were all these among the 'Manie Breviaries, Popish Manuals, Ladies Psalters and others' which the Chief Justice thus briefly mentions at the end of his 'Popish Books'? He does not class his splendid copy of Sir Thomas More, Cawood & Tottel, 1557, among the Popish works (it has the Letter to the Christian Reader, so often missing), but it concludes his list of Books of Divinity.

Being a sincerely religious man, Coke bought, or had given to him, a large number of theological works. Early copies of books by Erasmus, Colet, Bishops Fisher, Tunstall, Gardiner, Bonner, Ridley, Cranmer, give respectability to certain shelves at Holkham, and they may very well have been his. As a man of affairs, he had to take notice of the theological as well as of

the political controversies of the day, and many of the vigorous pamphleteers, such as Cartwright, Bishops Bilson and Cooper, Archbishops Whitgift, Abbot, and De Dominis, and later, Bishop Montagu of Norwich, may still be read by the Chief Justice's heirs in their original editions. Though perfectly well known to be a convinced anti-papist, perhaps he judged it unwise to be known to possess so many of the little things which came from Douay and Rheims and St. Omer in his time, and says nothing of books by Father Parsons, and some rare pieces concerning Campian. He noted his books against Blackwell and Bellarmine and Garnett, but was silent about *The Uncasing of Heresy* by O. A. (Oliver Almond ?), tracts by Fitz-Simon, the Irish Jesuit, the *Jesuits' Catechism*, translated by Wm. Watson, 1602, a *Dialogue between a Secular Priest and a Jesuit*, Rhemes, 1601, or *A Conference betwixt a Mother a Devout Recusant and her son a Zealous Protestant*, Cambridge, 1600. These, however, were balanced by the number of tracts which dealt faithfully with Romanism. *A Blow for the Pope* is the title of 'a Discourse had in St. Giles' Church in Elgen of Murray', G. Eld, 1615; there are several by loud-mouthed John Bale, Veron's *Strong Batterie against the Invocation of Saints*, Varamundus' *De Furoribus Gallicis*, of which there are three copies, one from Edinburgh and two of Bynneman, 1573, the *Catholico Reformado* (a Spanish translation of 'A Reformed Catholike', by W. Perkins), printed 'en Casa del Ricardo del Campo' (i.e. by Richard Field), 1599, and such-like. On the whole, Holkham would be a happy hunting ground for antiquaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, who relish the theological controversies of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The list of the Chief Justice's 200 Books of History shows that he did not despise translations. If he had to read Thucydides or Herodotus in Greek, and Sallust, Livy, Quintilian in Latin, and many French and Italian histories in the vernacular,

he could enjoy Homer in Chapman, Xenophon's *Cyropædeia*, translated by W. Barker (R. Wolfe, 1567), the 'Politiques of Aristotle out of Greek into French by Loys le Roy and then 'into English' by I. D. (A. Islip, 1598), the *Agricola* of Tacitus in Italian by Manelli, 'nella stamperia di Giovanni Wolfio, Londra, 1585', Anthony Cope Esquier's *Annibal and Scipio* 'out of Livius and other authors' (Thos. Marshe, 1561), and many other classics rendered into familiar tongues.

He was rich in English and Scottish History. Among many others, I might mention as examples Geoffrey of Monmouth (Jodocus Badius, 1517); Bishop Tunstall's *Gildas*, 1525; Fabyan's *Chronicle* (John Reynes, 1542); Archbishop Parker's *Alfredi Res Gestæ*, with the *Historia Brevis* and *Ypodigma Neustriæ* of Thomas of Walsingham (Bynneman, 1574); John Bale's *Summarium*, Vesaliae, Theodorus Plateanus (Wesel, Dyrick van den Straten), 1548 (into this Sir Edward had put his name), and fine first editions of Purchas, Hakluyt, and Holinshed. As a devoted son of Cambridge (he has recorded that he was 'the High Steward of the University and Governor of the possessions of Trinitie Colledge under theire 'Comon Seal'), he naturally had a beautiful copy of Dr. Kay's 'Cambridge' (*De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae*, John Day, 1574), still, happily, complete in every part. And, honest man that he was, he did not overlook the claims of sister Oxford, but added to his Library Bryan Twyne's 'Oxford' (*Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*, Joseph Barnes, 1608).

Among French histories, Anna Dowriche's in Rhyme (1589, Thos. Orwin), and *The Historie of France* published by Windet, 1595, are interesting. The copy of the latter enables us to add an unrecorded translation to the credit of Sir Edward Hoby, for Coke has written in it 'Ex dono Edw. Hobbie authoris'. Scottish history he could learn from Bishop Lesley (Rome, 1578) or Buchanan (Frankfort, 1594), and from various tracts about Mary Stuart.

From among the Chief Justice's more miscellaneous lists I may mention some rare books by Dr. Dee, Milles' *Mysterie of Iniquity*, privately printed, and his *An Outport Customers Accompt*, no place or date, profusely annotated and added to by the author, and his great *Titles of Honour* (William Jaggard, 1610), large paper, and quite unmutated. This was a present to Coke from Sir Robert Cotton. Reynolde Scot's *Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (Henrie Denham, 1574), and Sir Hugh Plat's *New and Admirable Art of setting of Corne* (Peter Short, 1600), and Tusser's *Husbandry* show that, as a great land-owner, he occasionally cast his eye upon Treatises of Agriculture.

One or two of the sixty 'Books of Poetrie' collected by him who was 'not a man of letters' must be shortly noticed. His 'Chaucer', John Reynes, 1542, is now as good as new, so that I fear he seldom turned its pages, and we still have his 'Spenser', Matt. Lownes, 1611, which is the second folio of the *Faery Queen*, and first folio of the other poems. His copy of 'Poet Dante's Works' is lost (and so is his Samuel Daniel), but one of the many Petrarchs which remain may have been his. The absence of Shakespeare's name from his Catalogue is easily accounted for, since he disapproved of players, and therefore, I suppose, of plays. Several of the minor poets of his time have survived; Bishop Bridges' 'New Testament' in Latin Hexameters (Londini, Val. Simsius, 1604), Buchanan's *Poems*, first edition (Henry Stephen, 1566), and also the second, with *Jephtha*, and *Psalms* in Greek Verse (Chris. Plantin, 1567), Richard Willes' *Poemata*, Tottell, 1573, Phaer and Twyne's 'Virgil', 1607, Gabriel Harvey's 'Gratulations to Queen Elizabeth at Norwich' (Bynneman, 1578), Tremelli's *Psalmi Davidis*, H. Middleton, 1580; a Latin Poem on the Death of Bishop Parkhurst, Froschover, 1576, and Alex. Neville's *Academia Cantab. Lachrymæ Tumulo Phil. Sidnei Sacratæ* (Windet, 1587) are instances. One regrets the loss of 'A book of English Verse, inter alia, of Garland's'.

He possessed only two books of music, 'Layton's Lamentations, a musick Booke', which must be Sir Wm. Leighton's *Sweet Musical Ayres and Tunable Accents*, 1614, and the *Ballet Comique de la Royne*, by de Beaujoyeux (Paris, 1582). This is still at Holkham.

A fair number of books remain that were presents from author, publisher, or friend. Perhaps the last instance is Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana* (W. Stanesby, 1628).

As regards the binding of his books, he seems to have been content, sometimes, with his initials on the covers; on other books he stamps his crest, an Ostrich with a Horseshoe in its beak, in a circle, sometimes blind, more generally gilded. His best books have a shield with his own arms (per pale, gu. and az. 3 Eagles displayed, arg.) quartering Sparham, Folcard, and Pawe, within a mandorla of oak leaves and acorns, and sometimes with Lyonnese corner pieces. This looks very handsome on the covers of his books.

Holkham, then, is fairly rich in books printed in or for England before 1634, the date of Sir Edward Coke's death, most of them of the kind which have survived chiefly at the British Museum, or in College and Cathedral Libraries. They number, I think, at least 700, and 50 or 60 of them I have not found in the Short Title Catalogue. For instance, in a bound volume of 36 Tracts relating to Henri Quatre—of which one is that delightfully Stevensonian story of the 'Taking of the Royal Galley of Nautes', a copy of which, described as 'unique', was recently presented to the British Museum by Mr. Rosenbach—there are more than 20 which I have not found in the Short Title Catalogue.

Among the books enumerated in the Chief Justice's Catalogue are about a hundred volumes which belonged to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor under Queen Elizabeth. Their covers bear the initials C. H., or the Hatton arms, and almost all of them have the Chancellor's fine autograph.

Looking upon the *Golden Hind* which surmounts the coat of arms by way of crest, one remembers with pleasure that Drake christened his famous ship after this same shining beast.

The books are chiefly French or Italian, only twenty are of English printing. Both parts of Thos. Rogers' *Englishe Creede* (J. Windet for A. Maunsell, 1585 and 1587); the *Accedens of Armorie* (Tottell, 1576); the *Blazon of Gentrie* (Windet for Maunsell, 1586), and the *Dial of Princes* (Tottell, 1582), are among them. This Library doubtless came to the Chief Justice with his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Cecil, whose first husband was nephew and to a certain extent heir of the famous Sir Christopher.

The Hatton books are mostly in excellent preservation; many of Sir Edward Coke's were sadly dilapidated until recent years. Now through the kindness of the British Museum, some fine shelves of early binding, Reynes, Garrett, Godfrey, Spierinck, Egmond, G. W., F. G., R. L., and others, have been made presentable, and about 100 shivering veterans with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness have been skilfully bound.

Of the books collected by the Chief Justice's sons and daughters, Sion College owns those of Sir Robert Coke, for he left them to his wife's nephew, George, first Earl of Berkeley, and he left them to the College. The eldest daughter, Mrs. Anne Sadleir, of Standon Lordship, gave many books to the Inner Temple, where they still remain. To John Coke, fourth son, who was the first Coke to live at Holkham, I think we owe the Civil War Tracts, News Letters, and other pieces of which there are fifty bound volumes at Holkham. Some considerable rarities may be found therein. My favourite is *The Reformed Commonwealth of Bees* (London, Giles Calvert, 1655), in Letters to Samuel Hartlib, together with the *Reformed Virginian Silk Worm* (John Streeter, 1653), for the sake of the letter from 'that ingenious Gentleman Mr. Christopher Wren,

of All Souls Colledge in Oxford', about his 'Transparent Beehive', of which he gives a figure.

One book, an Aristotle in Greek, bears the name of Henry Coke, fifth son, from whom the present Cokes descend. But nearly 100 years passed after the Chief Justice's death before there came an heir who was *libris rarissimis deditus*, though that admirable man's father, Edward Coke (1676-1707), bought many French books, and kept up with the literature of his time, while his wife, the beautiful Carey Newton, brought with her a good many books which had come to her from her maternal grandfather, Wm. Heveningham, known as 'the Regicide'. Both Edward and Carey had very fine book-plates, dated 1701.

II. Of Thomas Coke (1697-1759), created Lord Lovel in 1728, and Earl of Leicester, 1744, the chief creator of the Holkham Library, some account was given in a Lecture on Holkham MSS. printed in *The Library*, Fourth Series, vol. ii, No. 4, March 1922. During his travels on the Continent, principally in Italy, from 1712 to 1718, under the care of his Governor, Dr. Thomas Hobart, and his tutor, Mr. Ferrari, both of whom were bibliophiles, Thomas Coke bought more than 700 manuscripts and many magnificent incunabula, and other rare printed books. Mr. Ferrari remained with him as Librarian, and left his own small but interesting collection of books to his Patron. Thomas Coke's worth may be safely estimated from a memorable passage in a letter written to his Guardians, when he was only seventeen.

'During my voyage round Italy, I have bought several of the most valuable authors that have writ in Italian about the country . . . if I missed the occasion of buying books, I should not be able to find severall of the best of them, and its impossible to buy them to my mind unless I am myself present, and certainly one of the greatest ornaments to a Gentleman or his family is a fine Library.'

So it is that the number of uncommon topographical books at Holkham is remarkable. But the 'note' of Thomas Coke's Library is that it was meant to be a Scholar's Library. He does not seem to have acquired manuscripts, as some old and many modern collectors do, merely because they were beautiful, or printed editions because they were rare. Dr. Hobart declared him to be a very fair scholar, and the tradition is probably true that in his early enthusiasm for the humanities, he even meditated an edition of his favourite author, Livy. He wished his manuscripts and early editions to be of use to scholars. Ornament was not what he valued most, though he certainly bought specimens of early printing whose perfect condition was not surpassed even by those obtained by his contemporary, Lord Pembroke.

How much he would be gratified, I am sure, if a youthful Coke should return from Eton to-day, having left his Wordsworth's Greek Grammar behind, and seize upon that of Lascaris (Milan, 1476) in which to study his verbs! Or if its value as the first book printed in Greek should deter him, he will find the edition of 1512 among the Aldines, and the third book printed by Aldus, without date, but supposed to be 1498-1500, carelessly bound up with a manuscript of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Should our Etonian be in Cicero or Livy, and not equal to studying them in one of the nineteen manuscript Ciceros, or the fourteen Livys, he can take his choice among seventy-five printed Ciceros and thirty-five Livys (a dozen of them printed before 1500), or he may go to the famous edition of Drakenborch which that scholar dedicated to our Thomas Coke. What an impetus it would give to the boy's Latin Prose were he to read 'Tully's Offices' in the Mainz edition of 1465 on vellum, from the famous Library of Andreas Seidel of Berlin, with marginalia in the handwriting of Melancthon. Or the 'Familiar Epistles' in the Jenson edition of 1471, which invites him both on vellum and on paper.

Should the Vicar of Holkham desire to verify a reference in

Lactantius, he may walk up to the great house and ask to consult two beautiful manuscripts, or the editions of Vindelin of Speier, 1472, or Scotus, 1494, or even in the Subiaco editio princeps itself. That, however, was not one of Mr. Thomas Coke's acquisitions.

In the room called 'The Classical Library' there are some fine shelves of Italian and other books printed before 1780, beautifully bound for Mr. Coke either by Mr. Robiquet, Mr. Brindley, or Messrs. Eliot & Chapman. Books bound in morocco for him generally have his coat of arms (three eagles displayed impaling his wife's Tufton eagle) on both covers, with a rich Harleian border. Those bound in calf or other material show the Ostrich with a Horseshoe, surmounted by a coronet, whether of Baron, or Earl, on the lowest division of the back. I have found only one specimen of his ex-libris, his shield surmounted by a Baron's coronet. I think his bindings deserve the epithet of splendid, and he bought enough fine specimens of early French and Italian bindings to fill several show-cases. These include the finest possible Maioli, but, unfortunately, no Grolier.

From the press of Jenson, besides the Ciceros, come the 'Justinus' (1470), 'Juvenal' of the same year, the 'Torbellius' and the 'Suetonius' of 1471, the great folio Bible in three volumes, 1471, which, curiously enough, has a few leaves bound up with it of a fine folio edition of 'Cicero's Epistles', richly illuminated, the 'Solinus' of 1473, 'Diogenes' Laertius' of 1475, finely decorated, and two huge volumes, the Landino 'Pliny', one on paper, the other on vellum. The late Mr. Cobden-Sanderson, poring over this volume, told me that he had chosen its type as the most beautiful of all, when he proposed to become a printer. 'But oh,' said he, 'how much better do I print than Jenson! Look at that smudge! I should have destroyed a page, even of the finest vellum, if I had made a single letter so blurred as that.'

From John and Vindelin of Speier, we have the St. Augustine *De Civitate Dei* of 1470, and from Vindelin alone the 'Donatus on Terence' and the Edit. prin. of 'Petrarca' of 1470, the 'Lactantius', 1472, the 'Boccacio' of 1472, the beautiful 'Virgil' of 1471, without his name, which agrees with the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, rather than with Lord Spencer's, and the 'Dante' of 1477. John of Cologne's books are hardly less beautiful, the 'Terence' of 1471, finely illuminated, from the library of Trevisani of Venice, whose librarian could not hide his mortification at seeing the fine Italian libraries despoiled by such 'Northern strangers' as Mr. Coke, 'Tully's Offices' and the 'Sallust et alia' of 1474, Aristotle *de animalibus* 1476, and 'Justinus' of 1477 in which John of Geretzen collaborated with his namesake of Cologne.

Venice also gives us the Edit. prin. of the *Philocolo* (Gabriel de Piero, 1472), the 'Lucan' of Renner of Heilbron, 1471, the Edit. prin. of Modestus *de Re militari*, Bart. de Cremona, 1474, and many others. Milan provides six books printed before 1480; besides the 'Lascaris', there are the rare Valdarfer 'Philelphus' (1476), in specially fine condition, and the Edit. prin. of the 'Sforza' by Zarotus, 1479. From Rome, amongst others, come the 'Justinus', by Udalricus Gallus, c. 1467; George Lauer's noble 'Chrysostom on St. John', 1470, in St. Eusebii monasterio, Sweynheym & Pannartz's immense 'Livy' of 1472, which is surely too big to have been the Livy left behind at Preston by the Baron of Bradwardine, though Sir Walter Scott hints that it was. Nicolas de Vallon's 'Iliad' in Latin Hexameters, by John de Lignamine, 1474, is another good Roman book. There is, also, a Cicero *de Oratore*, absque nota, in which some learned looking hand has pencilled 'Rome, 1468'. This I have not yet identified. From other Italian cities come the finest possible copy of 'Valturius', 1472, by John of Verona, with all the woodcuts, one of the most terrifying of which is certainly the first 'Tank'. Foligno gives us

Neumeister's 'Leonardo Aretin', perhaps of 1470, and Padua the Edit. prin. of 'Hierocles', 1474.

Thomas Coke preferred the Roman to what he called the 'ugly Gothic letter', but now and then he bought books from presses other than Italian. Chief among the books he secured from the library of Seidel is one of the twelve copies known of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, the first of the two Dutch editions. We remember that Dr. Johnson was interested by the copy he saw in the King's Library at Paris, and noted that it was 'rudely printed with ink, sometimes pale, sometimes black, part supposed to be with wooden types, and part with 'pages cut in boards'.

Gunther Zainer's 'Isidorus' (Augsburg, 1472) is in the Roman letter, so that it may have pleased Mr. Coke more than even his exceptional copy of the first book printed in Switzerland, 1470, the book known as *Mammotrectus*. From early French printers Holkham has two rare specimens of the press of Ulrich Gering, of Paris, 'Plato's Epistles' (1470), and 'Juvenal and Persius' (1472). The Library possesses some dozen books printed before 1470, and fifty-five between 1470 and 1480.

Among about sixty books printed between 1480 and 1490, the first place should be given, perhaps, to a Missal, by Jean Du Pré, Paris, 1481, folio, on vellum, richly adorned with full-page and other miniatures, a very beautiful book. In this decade may be noted the Edit. prin. of 'Euclid' (Ratdolt of Venice, 1482), two copies of the rare Edit. prin. of Seneca's 'Tragedies' (Ferrara, by Andrew the Frenchman, 1484). Of course the Florentine Homer is at Holkham, as fine a copy as could be desired, unless the scholia supplied to the *Iliad* in an incredibly neat script be a blemish. The *Odyssey* might have come from the printer this morning. Nor must I forget the Hebrew Bible, of which De Rossi said, 'As rare and magnificent 'a copy of the Hebrew Bible as is known, probably printed at 'Naples, perhaps in 1488, though the Jews think it was at Lisbon.'

It is on vellum, illuminated, and in its original binding with knobs and clasps.

Of books between 1490 and 1500, there are about one hundred, and of books before 1500 with no indication of date or printer, about fifty. The total number of books before 1500 is rather more than 300. Of the later books, it is not unpleasant to open a copy of the Letter written by Columbus to announce the discovery of the New World, which is certainly Stephen Planck's first issue at Rome, 1493. It agrees with the copy in the British Museum, and with a manuscript copy also at Holkham, having all the mistakes noted by Monsieur Harris. Here, perhaps, I might say a word about the collection of what are frequently termed 'Americana'. Chief Justice Coke undoubtedly owned the beautiful copy of *Lawes Divine for the Colony in Virginia*, 1612, and I think there is no reason why several other tracts relating to Virginia and New England may not also have been his. But a volume full of the rarer tracts and some broadside Proclamations about Virginia belonged to the far-seeing Ferrari, Thomas Coke's tutor and eventually his Librarian. He put his name in it, and bequeathed it with his other treasures to the Earl. There are between thirty and forty of these early American pieces, some of them of the rarest, and the collection ends with a copy of 'Essays . . . and an Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America', Philadelphia, 1755, which has an autograph inscription stating that the volume 'was presented to the Earl of Leicester by his lordship's most dutiful 'and humble servant Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia'. The fact that Lord Leicester was Postmaster-General accounts for the communication between him and Franklin.

In addition to numerous great folios, such as a fine set of the Cabinet du Roy, De Bry's Voyages, and a very remarkable set of 113 imperial folio volumes of what might be termed Grangerized Geography, being a collection of Maps, Plans, and Pros-

pects of all the countries of the world made and indexed in the first half of the eighteenth century by one Mr. John Innys, besides the many Bibles, Dictionaries, and such-like, from the great French sixteenth-century presses of Paris or Lyons, small octavos, German, French, and Italian, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are to be found in vast numbers in the Library. Some of them having been bound by Thomas Coke, I presume that many of them, if not all, were part of his Continental spoils. Most of them remain in their parchment covers. It is in this extensive part of the Library that my ignorance is darkest; I have noticed much Hebraic, much Jesuit literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and countless editions of classics and commentaries thereon—I think only Dr. Parr or Ingram Bywater could grapple comfortably with those far-stretching shelves! I have rescued from their garret a certain number of these which I knew were rare or of special interest, and placed them together in a more accessible room. As they were huddled on their shelves without classification, with a few English books among them, one used to come across some curious juxtapositions. Cheek by jowl with rare specimens of Etienne Dolet, such as the 'Observations on Terence', 1542, so rare that only one copy was known to Mr. Christie, poems by Ronsard or Clement Marot, Les Œuvres poétiques d'Amadis Jamyn (Paris, Robert le Mangnier, 1579), early books on Demonology not in the Abbotsford Library, books with delightful woodcuts such as Jean Bertaud's *Encomium de cultu trium Mariarum* (Jodocus Badius, 1529)—among these I remember to have found the first edition of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, and a modest book of 1849, *Letters and Memorials of Bernard Barton*, by Edward Fitzgerald. Alexander Nowell's *Middle Catechism* (John Daye, 1575); Thos. Wilson's 'Life of, and Elegies upon the Two Suffolk Brothers' (Rich. Grafton, 1552); the *Distiques des Trois Soeurs* (Paris, 1550), as also their second issue in *Le*

Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois (Paris, 1551), and Rabelais' 'Hippocrates' (Gryphius, 1532), were neighboured by some Norfolk Poll Books, and 'Blaikie upon Smut in Wheat'.

The fine books of classical antiquity and the rare topographical and historical works, which Thomas Coke feared he might not meet with again if he did not buy them in the cities about which they were written, are still at Holkham. They are very numerous, and to earlier books of the kind he added the best modern editions up to the time of his death, 1759. Of course he bought Aldines, 130 of them, the collection including such rarities as Gaza's *Introductiva Grammatica* (1495), the Edit. prin. of 'Aristophanes' (1498), the Greek *Epistolae* (1499), the 'Euripides' (1503), the *Asolani* of Card. Bembo (1505), on large paper, all of them beautiful copies, and a few of the Lyonnese counterfeits.

Then, for his own use when travelling, this 'elegant' scholar gave himself a quantity of Elzevir duodecimos, and bound them so sumptuously that if he took one out of his pocket in mistake for his snuff-box, the fine company could not be affronted by any incongruous sight.

As I have said, he went on buying good books till he died, and perhaps one of his wisest purchases was a complete set of the Transactions of the Royal Society, from 1665. In one of the few records of his 'Household Accounts' which have survived, we read, in 1739, 'Paid to Mr. Janis for a set of Philosophical Transactions and Dr. Hook's Collections, £30'. After he became an Earl, he had these bound, and continued to buy and bind the yearly volumes until 1754. Here he seems to have stopped. But some judicious advice in later years caused the set to be continued by the purchase of the volumes from 1755 to 1789; these have the handsome book-pile ex-libris of Samuel Wegg, Esq. Then follow the volumes from 1790 to 1833, bound for King William IV, and so they go on to 1843, similarly bound but without the Royal Cipher.

We may regret that this cultivated bibliophile did not taste the early printing of his own country. But Caxton's Gothic letter would have displeased him. He seems to have left what survived of the Chief Justice's library very much as he found it. There are only a few of his ancestor's books which he sent to his binders, and those are generally the folios. But I have said enough to show that Sir Thomas Coke, Lord Lovel and Earl of Leicester, deserves a high place among the book-collectors of his time.

His widow, Margaret, Lady Leicester, took good care of the Library, and caused a Catalogue to be drawn up of the more important books. This was not at Holkham when I first knew it, and I used to wonder why there was no old Catalogue. Last year, however, a Norfolk Squire wrote to say that, on succeeding to his property and turning out a lumber-room, he had discovered several manuscript volumes of a 'Catalogue of the Holkham Library', and he presently returned them. As he was great nephew to a former Librarian at Holkham, it seemed clear that that gentleman had taken the Catalogue, for some reason or another, to his own house, where Death surprised him, and the Catalogue went with his own legitimate library to his heirs, who cannot have paid any attention to the bequest.

III. Thomas William Coke (1754-1842), great nephew to Thomas Coke, first Earl of Leicester, the book-collector and builder of Holkham, succeeded to the Estates and the Library in 1775. He was the eminent agriculturist and active Radical politician so often spoken of as 'Coke of Norfolk'.

He was not of bookish tastes and probably preferred Blaikie's *Smut in Wheat* to the finest early edition of Columella. He left the Library where he found it, which was very well, for it was housed in two large Tower Rooms, and the corridor which connected them, at the top of the great house, remote, not of easy access, the very place for a Library and a studious Librarian.

But it seems that the books were neglected. Mice nibbled them, water dropped on them, and no one cared except the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Roger Wilbraham, who in vain besought Mr. Coke to have some regard for his Library. But at last he granted to Mr. William Roscoe, the bourgeois but well-lettered Banker of Liverpool, who found the books in a forlorn condition in 1816, what he had refused to the Royal Duke and the Dilettante. In a previous paper I have told how Mr. Roscoe persuaded his friend to have the manuscripts and a certain number of fine printed books repaired and bound. The best were brought down from their Towers and placed in two of the family living-rooms, where they remain to this day. Mr. Coke, now awakened to the value of his Library, was induced to purchase a fine manuscript and five books of capital importance at the sale of Mr. Roscoe's Library. The prices paid for them are interesting. Mr. Roscoe admitted that 38 guineas for Bandini's Catalogue of the Laurentian Library was excessive, and 20 guineas for Panzer was certainly out of all proportion to the 50 guineas paid for a splendid copy of the *Biblia Pauperum* which had cost Mr. Roscoe a good deal more. Schoeffer's Edit. prin. of 'Aquinas', Mainz, 1467, was cheap enough at 14 guineas. Gutenberg's *Catholicon*, 1460, fetched 60 guineas, the Subiaco 'Lactantius', 50, and, most remarkable of all, the Marly copy of the 1459 Mainz Psalter fell to Mr. Coke at the same price! It is in splendid condition, and is the only copy now in a private collection. It must be regretted that Roscoe did not advise Mr. Coke to bid for a few more of his treasures, the Block Book of the Apocalypse, for instance, but he was anxious to see some of his Italian pictures at Holkham, and for these Mr. Coke had to pay sums which would have bought all the rare books twice over. It is too melancholy a subject to pursue. All the books which were bound for Mr. Thos. Wm. Coke are in fine calf, and show the Ostrich on covers or back. Some of the manu-

scripts were honoured by morocco, but none of the printed books.

IV. For this Mr. Coke the Earldom of Leicester was revived by Queen Victoria in 1837, and at his death in 1842 another Thomas Coke, the present Lord Leicester's father, succeeded, and reigned until 1909. He ruled Norfolk as Lord-Lieutenant, carried the Craft of Game Preserving and Shooting to a previously unknown height, was made a Knight of the Garter, and he appointed a neighbouring clergyman to be his Librarian. This was the Reverend Mr. Collyer, who seems to have addressed himself to his duties with some vigour. He had been Tutor in the family, and the appointment did Lord Leicester credit, for to the end of his days, he remembered, and would recount to his own son, the severity of the floggings inflicted by the pedagogue. The old Catalogue which lay hidden in the house of his heir for so many years is much annotated by him. He advised Lord Leicester that a complete Catalogue or Inventory of the Library should be made, which should include even some of the torn and worn veterans of the older Library. Mr. Francis Chantrey was engaged to perform this desirable work. I should like to know more about him, but the only facts I can discover are that he had a very competent knowledge of the by-ways as well as the highways of English books, that his influence for good at Holkham was considerable, that he kept up a correspondence with Mr. Collyer till 1860, and that he married Lady Leicester's head laundrymaid.

During the years 1842-4 he compiled a list of some 10,000 books, giving the authors in alphabetical order, and when possible, the place and date of printing, but not the printer, and no press-mark. This accomplished, many more old books must have been discovered, for there followed a large supplement, in which the alphabetical order was not observed, and again, a third catalogue of about 3,500 books. But I not infrequently

come upon old books of which he has made no mention. More recently press-marks have been added for the books in what are known as the 'Long' and the 'Classical' and the 'Tribune' Libraries, and for a few of the more interesting old volumes which I have gathered into a special book-case in the Smoking Room. Shelf-lists have been made of most of the books which can be identified as the Chief Justice's and Sir Christopher Hatton's, and the greater part of these collections are now placed in cupboards by themselves. Not all of them, for that would disturb the symmetry of the many book-cases which are legitimately regarded as ornaments to the walls. But there are no means of identifying the hiding-place of two-thirds of the books in the Library. Personally I happen to know where to find De Bry's 'Voyages' and some other big books, such as the Royal Society's Transactions. But nobody else knows! Should a visitor turn over Mr. Chantrey's pages and say, 'I should like to consult Erasmus Stella, "De Borussiae Antiquitatus"', Basle, 1518, or to peruse Dr. Charlton's "Discourse 'Concerning the wit of men'", or "Some Treasure fetcht out 'of Rubbish'", 1661', I could only reply, 'I do not know where they are.'

But if Mr. Chantrey was unable to provide press-marks, he was a very useful man in other ways. For he had compassion on the ragged regiment of sixteenth-century publications, and he and Mr. Collyer persuaded Lord Leicester to have them, at least, a great many of them, repaired and bound. He recognized that a fine book in a fine house should be suitably clothed, and kept his eye on the old folios as well as on the octavos. For instance, he writes to Mr. Collyer that he has got a copy of Houbraken's *Heads*, 'but it would not do for Holkham, being only half bound'. If a rare volume had lost some of its leaves, he had them added in facsimile by the ingenious Mr. Harris, or the less expensive Mr. Bishop. A letter on this subject is interesting. He has hitherto employed Mr. Harris, but that

gentleman's prices are high. There are leaves wanting in the 1540 edition of Cranmer's Bible, also in the 1549 and 1551 editions of the Bible known as Matthew's. 'Mr. Bishop will provide 6 leaves for Matthew at ten guineas. He has two methods, (1) "Pen Printing" by the eye alone, (2) Tracing. This last is better, but more expensive. When I see what fine copies may be made of these three books compared with the British Museum copies which I have inspected, and how they daily increase in value, I think the method of tracing should be employed.' For such a treasure as Tyndale's *Pentateuch* of 1530, which wanted the first eight leaves, the expensive Mr. Harris was properly employed. The Chief Justice's old copy of 'Purchas' was defective, but Mr. Chantrey bought a still more defective copy for £25 and made the Holkham book perfect. 'Now', he writes, 'it will be worth £60.' There was a good second folio Shakespeare, and he added the third at the moderate price of £15. Presently he buys for £2 another copy of the third folio wanting fifty leaves: 'the rest of it is much taller and wider than the other. I propose therefore to take the 50 leaves from the £15 copy, lay them in, and add them to my £2 copy, by which a beautiful specimen may be made of an extremely rare book.' He added the necessary volumes to complete the first Thomas Coke's set of 'Piranesi', and bought several of the fine books 'which no gentleman's library should be without', Picard's *Cérémonies Religieuses*, Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, and such-like, and at the sale of Mr. Penrose of Yarmouth's library he obtained a good number of fine and very finely bound books, Baskervilles, and the seventy-volume edition of Voltaire with the plates by Moreau le jeune. I like to think that it may have been Mr. Chantrey who completed the set of the Royal Society's Transactions, by adding the volumes from 1754 to 1843.

But some melancholy mistakes were made by Mr. Collyer, when it was arranged that Duplicates from the Library, nearly

700 lots, should be sold at Norwich, December 1851, for he included several books of which there were no duplicates, such as first editions of Rushworth's *Collections*. Worse than that, he sold books which bore the Chief Justice's autograph. One of them was W. Thomas's *History of Italye* (Berthelet, 1549), the rare first edition said to have been burnt and suppressed after the author's execution. Another was Dodoens' *Herbal*, Antwerp, 1583, and also its translation by Lyte, 1586. His 'Plutarch', 1580, eventually found its way into the Library of the late Lord Birkenhead, and was sold for £31 at the sale of his books on 12 December 1930. He sold other books, too, such as Vindelin of Speier's 'Terence', 1470 or 1472, 'fine copy in beautiful condition', a 'large paper Livy, Rome, 1470', and at least thirty English books of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Perhaps the most mortifying items in the Catalogue are 'Curious Tracts of Early English date', relating to History, and a similar lot of 'Curious Early Italian Tracts'. When Mr. Chantrey saw the Catalogue, he wrote in despair, asking for some of the items to be withdrawn. But it was too late. He soon found out that Lilly of Pall Mall had bought for a few shillings, in a miscellaneous lot, not only Knox's *Reformation in Scotland*, 1584, but eight books of Proclamations during Queen Elizabeth's and King James I's reigns. He lamented this loudly to the unlucky Mr. Collyer. 'Fifty years ago, Lord Grenville paid £125 for a similar set. I am as 'grieved as if they had been my own property.' Prudent Mr. Lilly put so high a price on these treasures that Lord Leicester could not afford to buy them back. The sale of these delightful duplicates brought in only a miserably small sum. No doubt it was this dispersal which enabled Sir Augustus Frank to add the eight ex-libris of Edward and Carey Coke, and one of Thomas Coke to the collection which is now in the British Museum.

Mr. Collyer seems to have listened favourably when his lieutenant recommended the purchase of fine folios, but he

could be deaf when he chose. In 1853 Mr. Chantrey writes he is 'startled to find that Holkham has no sets of Burns, Burke, 'Campbell, Coleridge, Crabbe, Cowper, Gray, Rogers, Shelley, 'Southey, Gibbon, or Walter Scott. Nor are there readable 'copies of Burnet, Bacon, Clarendon, Dryden, or Swift'. Of these, only an inferior edition of Scott was bought! In 1856 Mr. Chantrey wishes to buy a set of Dickens up to *Barnaby Rudge*, ten volumes, for ten guineas. But to this day Holkham, alas, can boast neither Dickens nor Thackeray, nor Carlyle, nor Macaulay, nor Burns, nor Shelley. Readers of modern literature will find little or nothing there to satisfy their appetites.

All the books to be bound under the Collyer-Chantrey régime were put into the hands of Messrs. Bedford & Clarke, and later into those of Mr. Clarke alone. But no coat of arms, not even the Ostrich, is there as a mark of identification. Mr. Roscoe had been more careful, and a fine Ostrich identifies the books which he had bound of Mr. Thos. Wm. Coke. Neither in their leather nor their finishing were these binders equal to Robiquet and Brindley, Eliot and Chapman, nor yet to the artist who had clothed the Chief Justice's books long before, many of which are as sound to-day as when first bound. Mr. Clarke died in 1860 and Mr. Chantrey wrote to Mr. Collyer that he left his business in some confusion, so that there was a difficulty in recovering some Holkham books that were in the workshop. I think Mr. Chantrey must have died this year, for there are no more letters from him, and I find no evidence of further activity in the Library. Mr. Collyer is still remembered as a stern guardian who never allowed a member of the family to look at a book, on any pretence whatever.

The present Lord Leicester has added some useful books to the Library such as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Elwes and Henry's *Trees of Great Britain and Ireland*, and has authorized the repair of such of the smaller sized sixteenth-century books as had escaped the eye of Mr. Chantrey. In 1922

460 *Notes on the Library of Printed Books at Holkham*

he lent a number of fine manuscripts and printed editions of Dante for exhibition at the Public Library at Norwich, and this year has enabled that ancient city to commemorate Virgil by similar means.

I must end as I began with regrets that I do not more thoroughly know this fine and interesting Library. It would be pleasant to go through it steadily, making a proper Catalogue with press-marks, noting old press-marks, ex-libris, and names of former owners. At random I can remember that there are books with the names of Gabriel Harvey, Laud, Sancroft and Burnet, Samuel Pepys, Kenelm Digby, Titus Oates, Richard Bentley, Matt. Prior—Psalms in Latin Verse, Paris, 1576, 'Given me by my dear Lord Harley'—but there must be many others which I have forgotten.

THOMAS WALKLEY AND THE BEN JONSON
'WORKS' OF 1640

By W. W. GREG



THE Chancery Bill printed by Mr. Marcham in *The Library* for last September is of peculiar interest as throwing light at once upon a very puzzling publication and upon the conduct of Stationers in their disputes with one another. While it would of course be foolish to place implicit reliance on an ex-parte statement, there seems no reason to suppose that Walkley's assertions are not in the main true, especially as the absence of any reply from the other parties makes it probable that they preferred not to bring their case before the Court. Here, then, we have a Stationer, faced with what he considers an infringement of his rights, but debarred from recourse to the Court of his own Company by his neglect to comply with its regulations, obtaining protection by a warrant from one of the Secretaries of State. On the other hand we have the Stationers against whom this warrant is directed evading it by what seems a somewhat transparent legal fiction, and enforcing their claims based on entries in the Stationers' Registers, not before the Court of Assistants of that Company, but at the Guildhall before the Lord Mayor or the Sheriff, and thereby driving the original complainant to seek relief in Chancery.

This is an illuminating story, and it finds some confirmation in the fact that there appears to be no mention of the matter whatever in the Court or other records of the Stationers' Company.

Into the question what particular works of Jonson Walkley had printed, Mr. Marcham did not enter at length, and I am not quite clear whether he thought it too obvious to mention, or whether he had not quite made up his mind on the point.

In any case I think it may be worth while following it up in the light of what we know from the Stationers' Register and from the books themselves.

From the title of Mr. Marcham's paper I should have concluded that he supposed the works in question to have formed some part at least of the collected folios of 1640 had it not been for a footnote on p. 226. Here, where the Bill mentions 'seuerall of the writings and workes of Beniamin Iohnson' which Walkley had received from Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Marcham appends a note referring to S.T.C. 13798, which suggests that he believed this to be the book in dispute. But that is impossible. The volume referred to is a little duodecimo containing Jonson's translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry*, together with Jonson's *Execration against Vulcan*, his *Masque of Gipsies*, and a small collection of his *Epigrams*. The items had been entered by Benson at various dates in the winter of 1639-40, and the volume appeared as 'Printed by I. Okes, for Iohn Benson. 1640', and bore a device used by Okes. It cannot have been printed by Walkley, it had pretty certainly been published some months before the Bill of 20 January 1640/1, and the stock of it cannot have been worth anything like £300.

Nevertheless it seems clear that it was upon the entries for this small volume that Benson founded his claim. They were three in number. On 16 December 1639 he entered 'Ben Iohnsons Execration against Vulcan with other his smaller Epigrams', on 8 February 1639/40 'Quintus Horatius flaccus his booke of the Art of Poetry to the Piso's. translated into English by Ben: Iohnson', and on 14 February 1639/40 'The Masque of the Gypsies by Ben: Iohnson'. Crooke's claim must have been made under some other entry. The only relevant one I have found runs as follows:

20°. Martij 1639 [/40]. . .

Mr. Crooke & Rich: Seirgier

Entred for their Copie vnder the hands of dr.

wykes & m^r fletcherston warden four Masques viz^t the Masque of Angures. Tyme Vindicated. Neptunes triumphes. & Panns Anniversary or the sheaphards holiday. wth sundry Elegies & other Poems by Ben: Iohnson vj^d

The *Horace* being out of the running, it seems probable that the works printed by Walkley were somehow connected with the 1640 folio. The first volume of that edition merely reproduced the folio of 1616; it was 'Printed by Richard Bishop, and . . . sold by Andrew Crooke . . . 1640'. The rights lay with Bishop, to whom Stansby's interest had been transferred on 4 March 1638/9: Crooke merely acted as bookseller. This volume does not enter into the picture at all. 'The second Volume' contains, strictly speaking, three plays only. They had been printed in 1631 by J. B[eale] for Robert Allot, but apparently never published. They now appeared with a general title-page dated 1640 as 'Printed for Richard Meighen'.¹ This volume is likewise ruled out, for Walkley can have had nothing to do with it and it had presumably appeared before the date of the Bill.

There remains the so-called third volume, consisting of matter that was subsequently appended to the remaining stock of the second. It has no general title-page: most of the individual ones it contains are dated 1640, but two (those of *The Sad Shepherd* and *Timber*) are dated 1641, which makes it probable that publication was delayed till the latter year. It includes the whole of the matter covered by the entries of Benson and of Crooke and Sergier. It prints the matter of Benson's volume from a different, and apparently a revised, manuscript²—which bears out Walkley's assertions. It is

¹ This is curious, for two of the plays, *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Staple of News*, had been transferred on 1 July 1637 from Allot's widow to Legat and Crooke. Meighen had acted as bookseller for a portion of the edition of 1616, but he had no ascertainable rights in the copy. Presumably he had bought up the derelict sheets as a speculation. The 1640 title-page bears a device used by Bernard Alsop.

² I am indebted to Mr. Percy Simpson for information on this point.

known to include, if not to consist of, matter given to the press by Sir Kenelm Digby; but it was not protected by any entry in the Register. So far as I am aware there is no internal evidence to show from whose press it came, but many years later, on 17 September 1658, Walkley made a belated entry of its contents in the Register, no doubt as a preliminary to transferring them to Humphrey Moseley, which he did on 20 November. The September entry runs:

Thomas Walkley Entred for his Copie (vnder the hand of M^r Pulleyn Warden) a booke called Ben Iohnsons workes y^e 3^d volume containing these peeces vizt' ffifteene Masques at Court and else where. Horace his Art of Poetry Englished. English Gramar. Timber or Discoveries. Vnderwoods consisting of diuers Poems. The Magnetic Lady. A Tale of a Tub. The sad Shephard or a Tale of Robin hood. The Devill is an Asse. salvo jure cujuscung.
vj^d

There can, I imagine, be no doubt that it was the sheets of this volume, or part of it, that were seized and formed the subject of the Chancery Bill. Whatever the equity of the matter, Walkley had formally infringed the rights of Benson and Croke, rights based upon regular entries in the Stationers' Register. But his subsequent entry and transfer suggest that Walkley succeeded in establishing his claims and recovering his stock. Seeing that no further action in Chancery can be traced, it is fair to suppose that Parker's move was just a 'try on'. But the whole proceedings throw an interesting light on the obscure history of the Jonson folio. I would hazard the suggestion that the original plan in 1640 was to publish a second volume including alike the three plays of 1631 and the additional matter left in Digby's hands. Perhaps it was to have been a joint venture by Walkley and Meighen. But the project was held up by the seizure of Walkley's stock, probably in the autumn, and Meighen went on with his part alone, issuing the three plays with a general title before the end of 1640. The following year, after having in the spring recovered the stock of printed

sheets, Walkley completed his portion (placing the date 1641 on two of the titles) and issued it as a third volume without general title, the intention being to append it to the remaining copies of Meighen's second volume, although this had already appeared as a separate entity.

PAPERS USED IN ENGLAND AFTER 1600

II. c. 1680-1750

By EDWARD HEAWOOD



THE limits assigned to this period are more or less arbitrary, as it naturally merges imperceptibly with those before and after. Some of the marks that persist beyond 1680 have been dealt with in the previous article (*The Library*, December 1930), to which reference must be made for them. Some, again, of those now included had already made their appearance before 1680. Little further preface to the present catalogue is needed, as it closely follows the lines of the preceding ones. As before, the marks are taken from both printed books and MSS. (some too from the endpapers of books in old bindings), and though few individual marks are not to be found in both classes, some are more often seen in papers made for writing, to which category those of Figs. 107-9 and 179 would seem to belong. The collection of Bowes Papers continues to supply records, and useful data have been obtained from a collection relating to the old sea-captain William Bowrey, lately owned by Col. Henry Howard, a selection of which were printed by the Hakluyt Society in 1927. A few of the records refer to papers used by Pepys.

MARKS IN ENGLISH BOOKS AND MSS. c. 1680-1750

[For explanations see December 1930, the numbering of the figures in which is here continued. The scale of these is now reduced to slightly less than one-half (actually 9/20).]

Arms, Amsterdam.

1. Mantling as Figs. 100, 103. *Prospects . . . Tangier*, 1673 ; Tract on *Spirit of Popery*, 1680 (as Fig. 100) ; E. Brown :

- Travels*, 1685 (HG below); De la Vega: *Peru*, 1688 (HG cursive below); Bowes Papers, 1694; Fryer: *E. India*, 1698, Fig. 100; Butler MS., B.M., n.d.; MS. treatise on Parly. Government, n.d.; and others.
2. Mantling as Fig. 102. *Prospects . . . Tangier*, 1673 (+IV); Knox: *Ceylon*, 1681 (on plates only); Taylor map, 1688 (AJ cursive below, +IV); Loubère: *Siam*, 1693 (+CDG ? ¹); Gordon: *Geography*, 1693; Anon.: *The-saurus Geogr.*, 1695 (monogr. SH or ISH below ²); Cassini-Morden: *Hydrogr. Galliae* [1699] (+monogr. PVL; +JH); Bowrey Papers, 1701, 1704, &c. (+H; +RW); Legal Papers, 1703, 1710 (+JT cursive; +H); c. 1732, fly-leaf of Parly. Paper (LVG below); and others.
3. Grotesque, Crescent in crown, Tassels beside shield. One as Fig. 99. Knox: *Ceylon*, 1681 (text); Ludolf: *Ethiopia*, 1684; E. Brown: *Travels*, 1685 (+P. Hays; DCH below, Fig. 99); Thévenot: *Levant*, 1686 (+HR ?); Spon: *Geneva*, 1687 (MLP below); De la Vega: *Peru*, 1688; Milton: *Paradise Regained* (R. Taylor), 1688 (+Roch; MLI ? below); Irish Tract, 1691; ³ Fryer: *E. India*, 1698 (DCH below; H above shield); and others.
4. No mantling, Figs. 105-6 and variants. Bowrey Papers, 1704 (+LI, lions crowned, Fig. 106); id., 1708 (+Jan van Til, lions wigged, Fig. 105); Hooke: *Posthum. Works*, 1705 (smallish); MS., 1724-6 (+KVS; +IV, beehive (?) below); fly-leaves of books, 1669 (RG below), 1723 (+A. Bassuet / fin / Perigord / 1742); and others.

¹ Probable countermark on separate half-sheet.

² The letters SH similarly placed one above the other were used by Schwindenhamer of Türkheim in Alsace (see Heitz: *Les Filigranes avec la Crosse de Bâle* Nos. 31, &c., and Pl. LXXV), but this appears to have been at a later date.

³ Though the lions are of the grotesque form, the mark is otherwise carefully designed, differing from the others in this respect.

5. Other forms, mostly without mantling.

Plot: *Oxfordshire*, 1677 (+PR?, type uncertain); E. Brown: *Travels*, 1677 (fragment only); Chardin: *Travels*, 1686 (Figs. 101 and 101 a, latter with PM below).

[No mark perhaps was more widely current in the century beginning about 1650 than the arms of Amsterdam, employed by a number of makers in different regions, as is attested by the many different countermarks giving the makers' initials. It is natural to suppose that the mark originated in Holland, where it makes an early appearance, but this is far from certain, as the French makers in the Angoumois were supplying the Dutch market before 1650, and documents quoted by Briquet prove its common use somewhat later both in that district and in Perigord. Four main types may be distinguished, and the crude and grotesque style of one of the types points to its use in a different region from the others, presumably one where the makers were less skilled than elsewhere in elaborating the intricate details of the design. It is difficult to say whether this was Holland or (possibly) NW. France, but the common occurrence of the type in English, as well as Dutch, books and its association with names or initials otherwise found on French paper (e.g. P. Hays, I. Co[nard?]) are points in favour of the latter. According to information given by Mr. Churchill some of the more elegant forms begin to appear in Holland before 1650, and as no fine-quality paper was made there so early, this speaks in favour of a French origin for these also.¹ (Yet these same designs were almost certainly used in Holland somewhat later, e.g. by Pieter van der Ley and Jan van Til.)

In England these arms seem to appear first about 1670, the forms of Figs. 99 and 100 being both found in 1673. What we have termed the grotesque form ran concurrently with others for a time, but seems to have dropped out fairly soon, whereas the types of Figs. 104-6 persisted through the first half of the eighteenth century. In the forms without mantling the lions are drawn in various ways, some being 'wiggled' as in Fig. 105. Forms that fall within this broad subdivision were used by more than one maker in Perigord accompanied by the date 1742 (this in virtue of the ordinance of 1741). A variant from the type, with divided crown, is shown in Fig. 104. Of the less common types the elegant form of Fig. 101 has so far been met with in one book only. A more usual shape of the crown is shown in Fig. 101 a.]

¹ The later use in France of Fig. 105 is shown by its association with personal names such as Du Bur, Joly, Bassuet, and Perier, as well as the district name Perigord.

Arms, Berne ? (Bear on a bend, scrolls round shield).

Narborough, &c. : *Voyages*, 1694.

[The bear was a common mark in early days, both alone and as representing the arms of Berne, but it is less usual to find it after the early part of the seventeenth century.]

Arms, England alone.

1. No supporters. Fig. 108.

Bowes Papers, 1691 (+ monogr. GIW ?); Legal Paper, 1694 (ditto); Hawarden MS., n.d. (+HD).

[Apparently not long in use. The initials HD point to a French maker, perhaps H. Durand (see December 1930, p. 285). The monogram GW or GIW, with the letters arranged vertically, is found also with the Dutch lion, of the style of Fig. 166; but this, too, may sometimes be French, and one ex. has HD as countermark.]

2. With supporters. Fig. 107.

MS. *re* Text Acts, c. 1685 (AJ below, +NB); Clayton Papers, 1683 (+RDTI), 1686-8 (AJ below, +GLC), 1687 (+MC or GLC); Le Fleming Papers, 1686; MS. in Pepys Library, c. 1690 (AJ below, +GLC).

[The initials AJ are probably those of Abraham Janssen, Dutch merchant at Angoulême. The others do not agree with those of any maker in that district mentioned by Briquet, but the GLC seems to point to a French name in 'Le'. The letters RDTI are found also with the horn as in Fig. 63, December.]

Arms, English Royal, with band and 'Honi soit', &c. One as Fig. 109.

Bowes Papers, 1711 (William III, +AR crowned); Ditto, 1712, and legal document, 1716 (William III, Semper Eadem below, +GR crowned without circle, Fig. 109); Legal Paper, 1731 (Anne, +GR crowned in circle); Comelin, &c. : *Voyages to Barbary*, 1736 (the same); Legal, 1735 (Hanover, +GR crowned in circle); Bowes,

1744 (ditto, with 'Dieu et mon Droit' and bell with 'Jure' below); and others later.

[Varied to show the arms borne by successive sovereigns, this mark is common through a large part of the eighteenth century, the paper bearing it being apparently used rather for writing than printing. It will be noticed that the Royal letters do not always agree with the coat of arms, the latter sometimes remaining unchanged after the accession of a new sovereign. Those letters do not necessarily imply English origin, as they occur sparingly in books printed in Holland, and some at least of the paper was probably made there (or in France) for the English market. An example of the complete arms borne by William III is figured by Marmol (*Dictionnaire des Filigranes*, Fig. 39) from a Spanish letter written at Brussels in 1697.]

Arms, France (see also *Fleurs-de-lis*, three).

1. No collar.

Chardin: *Travels*, 1686 (Fig. 110); Blome: *Geography*, 1693 (Fig. 111).

[Fig. 110 appears also in a French book of c. 1680. If the countermark of Fig. 111 may be read C & IH, it will stand for the Dutch firm of Honig.]

2. With collar. Fig. 112.

Struys: *Travels*, 1684 (+PHO?); Drummond: *Works*, Edinburgh, 1711.

[Foreign exx. have ICO and P. Mauduit as countermarks and the paper is no doubt French.]

3. With wreath. Fig. 113.

Bowrey Papers, 1704.

Arms, France and Navarre. (See December 1930, p. 267, and Fig. 4.)

[This mark has not been found after 1700.]

Arms, Genoa. (See December 1930, p. 268.)

[This mark is now shown in Fig. 114. An example on excellent clear paper occurs in *An Address to the late King James*, 1690, which has also the three circles (Fig. 123). Another appears in an Irish tract, Cork, 1691.]

Arms, London (City).

1. With scroll-work round shield. Fig. 115 and variants.

Clayton Papers, 1676, 1686 (+FS); Maryland Papers, 1685? (+FS); Bowrey Papers, 1704 (+AI), 1708 (+Vigos); MS. at St. David's Cathedral, n.d.; MS. list of maps, B.M., n.d. (AJ cursive below).

[As elsewhere the AJ may refer to Abraham Janssen and the paper is probably from Angoulême. The nationality of the name Vigos is doubtful but is perhaps Italian. It is quoted by Marmol from 1712, but with no indication of source.]

2. As in Fig. 116.

Legal MS. c. 1694 (unusual, H below, +TI); Lexington Papers, 1695 (+large EB; +RM); Pepys Papers, c. 1697 (+Elliston and Basket; +EB; +PB); Leybourne: *Dialling*, 1700 (+CS); Legal document, 1700 (+GP); Bowrey Papers, 1701-8 (+CT; +DB; +EB; +Elliston and Basket; +FJD; +ICB); Lansd. MS. 81410, 1706 (+TC); Sloane: *Jamaica*, 1707 (+SN+BM in corner; +TRH+BS/L in circle in corner); Gale: *Anton. Iter*, 1709 (small GAB or CCB below); Bowes Papers, c. 1710 (+C & IH), 1715 (+DB), 1716? (+CHD); Cluver: *Introductio*, 1711 (+IV; +GR crowned); Leybourne: *Surveyor*, 1722 (+GF + 'eye-glass' in corner; +GR crowned; +RA); Legal documents, 1722, 1729 (+GR crowned), 1733 (+PD), 1746 (+GR crowned, with palms, in circle); and others.

[Perhaps the commonest mark in English books and documents from about 1690 to 1750, particularly in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. The paper must have had very various origins. The names Elliston and Basket (an unusually early example of English names in full) imply English make, unless we have here an instance of marking paper with a retailer's name, as by Whatman (and perhaps others) a good deal later. The corner-marks and style of the letters in many instances seem to denote Italian origin, and it is probable that the Genoese makers, who exported

paper at this period in great quantities, used the London arms on paper made specially for supply to this country. The initials C & IH in the ex. of 1710 are those of the Honigs of Holland.]

Arms, Medici. Fig. 117.

Blank sheets in *Thesaurus Geogr.*, 1695, old binding (+ crown, ACP, and grapes).

[A precisely similar mark occurs in French books of 1675 and 1696, the former with the countermark of B. Colonbier of Auvergne.]

Arms, Norway. See Lion, *infra*.

Arms, Strasburg. As Fig. 12, December 1930.¹

[This mark was in such general use with little change throughout our period that it would be unprofitable to multiply instances; the chief variations being found in the countermarks. Much of the paper was no doubt made in the Angoumois as indicated by the initials of Abr. Janssen and Claude de George (Pepys Papers c. 1690-1700, Bowrey Papers, 1704, and others), and the name of the Beauvais mill (Petty's Atlas of Ireland, c. 1730). We find also the initials or monograms of the Dutch makers Van der Ley (Narborough's *Voyages*, 1694), Gillis van Hoeven (Narborough, 1711), and Van Gerrevink (Astley's *Voyages*, 1745), &c., besides many others to which it is not yet possible to assign names. Among these the letters DWB and RS occur both in England and in Holland, so that they too may denote foreign makers. Later in the century this mark was commonly used by James Whatman, mostly with an ornamental finish to the base of the shield, and either the letters GR or the monogram JW below.]

Arms, Undetermined.

Thesaurus Geogr., 1695. Fig. 118.

[An uncommon form.]

Loubère: *Siam*, 1693. Fig. 119.

[Found so far in this one book only, and here in company with a different, but somewhat similar, coat.]

Bear. See Arms, Berne.

¹ More rarely, particularly about 1745-50, the shield has a somewhat differently-shaped base, the point being little lower than the sides.

Birds (see also Eagle).

1. Swan. Fig. 120.

Moll-Grierson Atlas, Dublin, after 1730 (+I); Snelgrave : *Guinea*, 1734; Senex map, 1735; Moll : *Geography*, 1747 (+I and 'eye-glass'); Varenus : *Geography* (1765).

2. Flying. One as Fig. 121.

Petty : *Hiberniae Delin.*, c. 1730; Moll : *Geography*, 1747 (+lc in corner); Bolingbroke : *Patriotism*, 1752.

[Both forms have certain points in common and the corner-marks point to an Italian, probably Genoese, origin. The letters LC are found elsewhere as countermarks to the fleur-de-lis (1734), to the grapes (e.g. in Fig. 146, and a smaller variety, 1739), or to a larger LC as main mark (1725, 1732). The I occurs also in association with the star (q.v.), again sometimes with the 'eye-glass' as corner-mark. Whilst most of the 'star' papers are crisp and tough, those with the bird seem generally rather soft, though white and clear, as is also that marked with the grapes.]

Bow-and-Arrow. Fig. 122.

Overton's map of France, 1707 or after (IS).

[A precisely similar mark appears as countermark to the Strasburg arms in a work printed at Amsterdam in 1730, and the paper would seem to be French or Dutch, the IS possibly standing for Jacques Salmon of Angoulême.]

Circle only.

Legal document, 1692; Bowrey MS., c. 1700; Sloane : *Jamaica*, 1707 (as corner-mark).

[An unusual mark the provenance of which is uncertain, though its use sometimes as a corner-mark points to Genoa.]

— *and Cross*. See Orb.

Circles, Three. (See December 1930, p. 271.)

Herbert : *Persia*, 1677; Oates : *Witch of Endor*, 1679; Wheler : *Greece*, 1682; Herbert : *Henry VIII*, 1683;

Sturmy : *Mariner's Mag.*, 1684 ; *Address to the late King James*, 1690 ; Irish Tracts, 1691 ; Hooke : *Works*, 1705.

[The examples of 1690-91 are of the true Genoese style (Fig. 123). The rest (e. g. 123 a) seem to be rough imitations, and differ also between themselves.]

Cross, Greek (or letter X ?). Fig. 124.

Harris : *Voyages*, 1705 (+ BS/L in circle in corner) ; Sloane : *Jamaica*, 1707.

[The corner-mark, found also with the London arms, the Dutch Lion (Fig. 166), the Fool's cap, and the fleur-de-lis alone or on a shield, brings this paper within the group thought to be Italian.]

Crown, mostly with letters below.

1. Small.

Ludolph : *Ethiopia*, 1684 (PH, heart between) ; Legal MS., c. 1690 (CBB, grapes (?) in lozenge-form below) ; Loubère : *Siam*, 1693 (WS) ; Dugdale : *Monasticon Epitomised*, 1693 (G, Fig. 127) ; Psalmanasar : *Formosa*, 1704 (star and DS, Fig. 184) ; Watts : *Poems*, 1722 (WB) ; Sloane : *Jamaica*, 1725 (WB) ; Coxé : *Carolana*, 1727 (WB) ; e.p. of books, n.d. (WB).

[PH may stand for P. Homo or P. Hays, both probably French makers. The ex. of c. 1690 recalls the Italian style in the lettering, and those with WB (as Fig. 131) in the form of the crown, somewhat resembling that in common use at Venice much earlier. This last seems to have had a wide currency for a short time, being found in Holland as well as England, though less frequently.]

2. Medium or large.

B.M. Miscel. Sheets, vol. 24, 1681 (IB) ; Milton : *Poems* (Tonson), 1695 (IRK large) ; Sloane : *Jamaica*, 1707 (+CT, +circle in corner, Fig. 130) ; Leguat : *New Voyage*, 1708 (no letters, Fig. 125) ; Salmon : *Palladio Londin.*, 1734 (CAR, Fig. 126) ; Varenus : *Geography*, 1765 (PR).

[Although the crown gave its name to a size of paper, it is but sparingly met with in our period, and the forms differ greatly, indicating various origins. The ex. of 1707 may be put down as Italian (Genoese ?), both from the style of the T and from the corner-mark, as well as from its association in the same book with other probably Italian marks.]

Eagle, one-headed, with crown.

1. Style of Fig. 128.

Herbert : *Travels*, 1664 (smallish); Blome : *Geography*, 1680-93; Heylin : *Cosmography*, 1682 (+MLI); Sturmy : *Mariner's Mag.*, 1684 (+?); e.p. in English book of 1672.

[As elsewhere, the letters MLI probably stand for M. Lejune, and the paper would seem to be French. This type occurs in France in 1696, and as late as 1724 in a Dutch book.]

2. As Fig. 129.

Cantemir : *Othman Empire*, 1734-5¹ (+GM/T); Shaw : *Barbary*, &c., 1738.

[This style recalls Italian forms, and both books also contain paper with the Genoese (?) mark of the star, Fig. 184.]

Eye-glass (?).

[A small device like a pair of eye-glasses is found as a corner-mark, with various other devices, on paper apparently of Genoese origin. It is also found with the arms of Genoa and with the three circles.]

Fleur-de-lis. (See also December 1930, p. 274.)

Printed sheet, 1680 (abnormal, +TQ or QT, Fig. 133); Legal Paper, 1690 (small, +IP in heart, Fig. 132); Wells : *Sett of Maps*, 1700 (with central vertical line, no counter-mark); Bowrey Papers, 1704 (+CDG, Fig. 135); Pope : *Works*, 1707 (Fig. 134); Badeslade's maps, 1714, 1724, &c. (+IV); Senex's maps, 1721 (+AB; +CB; +HD); Stowe and Strype : *London*, 1720 (+GF + 'eye-glass' in

¹ The issue of 1756 is on the same paper, being apparently old stock with title-page only reprinted.

corner); Templeman-Moll Atlas, 1729 (+BF); Salmon: *Palladio Londin.*, 1734 (+LC in corner); Various books, 1743-8 (+IV); Paterson: *Plan of Aberdeen*, 1746 (+IV +RG central); and many others.

[A hackneyed mark like the present would naturally be used widely, but in this period the style shows little variation. The initials of Claude de George point to Angoulême, and HD to some part of France. While the IV originally stood for J. Villedary of the Angoumois, the letters become so common later that they would seem to have been widely copied. The *exx.* of 1720 and 1729 are probably Italian, from the style of the letters and (in the first) the use of the corner-mark. The same may be said of the *ex.* of 1734, since the same letters are elsewhere found associated with marks apparently Italian (see Birds, Grapes, &c.).]

Fleur-de-lis crowned, with palms. Fig. 136.

Bowes Papers, 1717; Leybourne: *Surveyor*, 1722 (+IV);
e.p. of book of 1699.

[Apparently not long in use.]

Fleur-de-lis on Crowned Shield.

1. Shield as Fig. 3, December 1930.

Bowrey Papers, 1704 (+BS/L in circle in corner).

2. Shield as Fig. 32, December 1930, Crown as Fig. 66.

Sloane: *Jamaica*, 1725 (+CA in corner).

[The corner-marks seem to indicate Genoese paper. The BSL is found also with Figs. 116, 124, 138, 166, and with the 7-point Fool's cap with triangle.]

3. Shield as Figs. 35, 137-8, 4WR below.

A. With IHS as countermark, sometimes with letters below.

Blome: *Geographical Descrn.*, 1670 (IP); Thornton map, c. 1680 (crown above IHS); Tavernier: *Voyages*, Supplt., 1680 (ET); 'Buccaneer's Atlas', 1684 (HG below shield, PB below IHS); MS. Chart, Pepys Library, 1687 (AJ below shield, CDG below IHS); Wells: *Sett of*

Maps, 1700 ((a) GVH below shield, I. Vildari below IHS ; (b) RC below IHS) ; and others.

[This form with the IHS was in common use during the last three decades of the seventeenth century, but seems to have dropped out for a time, re-appearing, however, about 1760¹ with the name I. Villedary in full below the IHS, and LVG below the shield. The initials CDG, and the name Villedary point to the Angoulême district, as well as the ET, possibly standing for Etienne Touzeau. Since both Villedary's name and the monogram of Gillis van Hoeven occur on the same specimen, it seems that the former made for the latter.]

B. Similar, without IHS (WR sometimes missing).

Petty's *Atlas of Ireland*, 1683 or later (HG below shield, WR reversed, +IP) ; Wren drawings, c. 1695-8 (+I. Villedary ; +DS) ; Maundrell : *Journey*, Oxford, 1703 (+BS/L in circle in corner, Fig. 138) ; Bowrey Papers, 1704, 1708 (+P. Jolly ; +HDVE) ; Catesby : *Carolina*, 1731 (no WR) ; Comelin, &c. : *Barbary*, 1736 (smallish, no WR, +IV) ; Rocque's *London*, 1746, and Dobree : Alderney map, 1746 (large, no WR, +IV) ; and others.

[Form in use during the same period as group A, at Angoulême (as shown by the names of the Beauvais and Martin mills in some exx.) and possibly elsewhere in France, as indicated by the countermarks of 1704 and 1708. The ex. of 1703 (Fig. 138) has the corner-mark associated with Genoese paper, and the texture, too, seems to be Italian. The crown is not quite usual, and it is puzzling to find it in precisely similar form in a Dutch book of 1729.

4. Shield of the same style, LVG below. Fig. 137.

Map in Rollin's *Ancient History*, 1739 (+IV) ; Legal Paper, 1741 (+I. Villedary) ; Jane Squire : *Longitude*, 1743 (ditto) ; Jefferys : *Maritime Parts of France* (+JW or IV) ; Portsmouth Acad. MS., 1762 (+IHS with I.

¹ In precisely the same form as in these later examples the mark occurs on various undated plans by Wren and others, presumably drawn before 1700. But as no ex. with LVG has yet been found of so early a date, it seems possible that the plans may be later copies.

Villedary below); Map for Postlethwaite's Dictionary, 1766? (ditto); and many others.

[Although the Gerrevinks are said to have made paper in Holland before 1700, it is not till well on in the next century that the initials LVG are commonly met with in place of the earlier WR.¹ Even then they are mostly associated with the name or initials of Villedary, who may have been under agreement with Gerrevink to make paper for the Dutch and English markets. The paper seems to have had a great vogue especially for purposes requiring large size and good quality. After 1750 the name or initials of J. Bates appear sometimes as countermark, possibly denoting the stationer for whom the paper was made. The mark was constantly used by Whatman, usually with the finish to the base of the shield spoken of under 'Strasburg Arms', and either his own monogram or the letters GR below this.]

Flours-de-lis, Three. (See also Arms, France.)

Ludolf: *Ethiopia*, 1684. (Fig. 140.)

[If intended for the arms of France, the arrangement is incorrect.]

Flours-de-lis, Nine.

Struys: *Travels*, 1684. Fig. 141.

[Presumably French, and associated in the same book with the arms of France as in Fig. 112. Marks of the same style, but with six fleurs-de-lis, are found in Dutch books of 1685 and 1698.]

Flower. (See December number, p. 277.)

(Small, LF below, Fig. 142); B.M. Miscel. Sheets (printed), vol. 24, 1681; Ludolf: *Ethiopia*, 1684.

(Larger, with leaves, Fig. 143.) Salmon: *Modern History*, 1739.

[The first seems to have had but a short run. The second belongs to a group probably Italian, being associated in the same book with those of the grapes (Fig. 146) and Unicorn (Fig. 193). Somewhat similar forms of the flower are commonly found in Italian documents. (A minute flower is sometimes found as a corner-mark with the star, q.v.)]

¹ These letters persisted for a time side by side with the LVG.

Fool's cap. (See December number, 1930, p. 278.)

(Five points, Fig. 145.) Leybourne: *Institutiones*, 1704 (+B).

(Seven points, with triangle.) Barnes: *Euripides*, Cambridge, 1694; Plot: *Oxfordshire*, Oxford, 1705 (+O; +H+GTB); and others.

[The commoner form with five points had practically dropped out by 1700. That here figured is found also in an Amsterdam book of the same year. The seven-point forms are found for some time after 1700, that with the triangle being apparently Italian, as it is generally associated with a corner-mark, e. g. the ss/L.]

Grapes. (See December number, 1930, pp. 280-2.)

Dellon: *Voyage*, 1698 (+IS); [Morden:] *State of England*, 1701 (+P. Homo); Salmon: *Modern History*, 1739 (small, +LC in corner); Moll: *Geography*, 1747 (large, with leaves, +LC in corner, Fig. 146).

[Like the pot, the grapes drop out almost entirely from English documents after 1700, though more constantly used in France during the next century than ever before. The exx. with corner-mark seem to show Italian origin (for the letters LC see also Birds, Fleur-de-lis, Grapes, Letters).]

Hare. Fig. 147.

Astley: *Voyages*, 1745; Moll: *Geography*, 1747 (both with monogr. CP in corner).

[Belongs apparently to the group of Italian papers so often spoken of (see Birds, Star, &c.). In the book of 1747 there are others of the same group.]

Heart, with Letters. Fig. 144.

Seller and Price Chart, 1703 (ID); Harris: *Voyages*, 1705 (IW or WI).

[The heart separating letters is generally a sign of Auvergne papers, but the occurrence of the second ex. in Holland, and the presence of the non-French letter W, tell against the assignment of the present form to that region. (Yet the IW is found below the Amsterdam arms with the motto 'Vive l'Orange' beneath an orange tree as countermark.)]

Horn (alone).

Loubère : *Siam*, 1693.

[The horn is rarely met with in this period as a sole mark, occurring rather more often as a countermark (in Germany sometimes with letters above or below). In the present instance the chief mark may have dropped out.]

Horn bordered. (See December 1930, p. 283.)

[This form becomes less common after 1700, but is still occasionally seen.]

Horn in Crowned Shield. See December number, 1930, p. 284 and Fig. 66, also Fig. 149 *infra*.

Mostly with 4 WR or other letters below, or/and as countermark.

Prince : *Worthies*, 1701 (monogr. GVH below); Le Brun : *Travels*, 1702 (+JB); Bowrey Papers, 1704 (4 WR); Gale : *Anton. Iter*, 1709 (4 WR); Moll : *Atlas Geogr.*, 1711 (nil); Bowes Papers, 1722 (LVG); Harris : *Globes*, 1732 (monogr. JD (?) below, +cursive GR crowned);¹ African Company Tract, 1748 (GR below); Pontoppidan : *Norway*, 1755 (L. V. Gerrevink below, +IV); and others.

[This mark continues in use during the eighteenth century (and after), but becomes rather less common after 1750. As with the fleur-de-lis the monogram WR below gives place in time to the initials, or occasionally the full name, of L. van Gerrevink. The mark was used by Whatman, with the ornamental appendage to the shield found in others of his marks, and his monogram or the letters GR below.]

Horn in ornamental border, crown above. Fig. 148.

Dugdale : *Monasticon*, 1693 (+AM).

[An unusual form, found in the same book with other marks of possibly German origin (see remarks on p. 491, *infra*).]

Horse, Rampant.

Loubère : *Siam*, 1693.

¹ Shield here of an unusual form, recalling the cartouche of the horn bordered.

— in *Wreath*. Fig. 150.

Dugdale: *Monasticon*, 1693 (+horn with MA or AM below); Morden: *Geography* (ditto?); Hooke: *Works*, 1705.

— in *Circle*. Fig. 151.

De la Motraye: *Travels*, 1723-32; Shelvacke: *Voyage*, 1736.

[None of these marks of the horse is at all common. They appear to be rather German or Dutch than French, and might be supposed to denote the arms of Westphalia, were it not that in the first two cases the horse (often very indistinct) appears to be rampant rather than courant. The books containing them have other unusual marks, some recalling the German style.]

Horse and Rider. Fig. 153.

Morgan: *London accurately surveyed*, issue of c. 1700?;
Morden and Browne map, c. 1700; Barnet Estate plan, n.d.

[An uncommon mark, though as a representation of Prince William V, the horseman had some vogue in Holland.]

Key.

Hooke: *Works*, 1705.

[Found this once only in this form.]

Lamb with flag, on Crowned Shield. Style of Fig. 154.

Aeschylus, 1664 (Index only); Printed sheet, 33 Charles II;
Cathedral Records, St. David's, n.d.; Loose fly-leaf, n.d.

[This mark has been met with in Holland before 1650 and as late as 1672.]

Letters alone, or on Shield. (See also Heart, Monograms, Wreath.) Figs. 152, 155-64, 172-4.

[From about 1690 letters, either singly or in combinations, become rather common as watermarks, being sometimes the same as are otherwise found as countermarks. Only the dates of such occurrences are here given, the arrangement being alphabetical under the last letter of each combination, this bringing together those relating to possible members of one family.]

- B, 1695, 1705; GB, 1708; PB, 1695.
 C (+corner-mks.), 1720, 1723; AC, 1684; LC (+LC in corner), 1725, 1732; MC, PC (central, +corner-mks.), 1695.
 D, 1707, 1714?; HD,¹ 1683?, 1693 and 1707 (joined), 1716, c. 1750; HD(VE), 1696; PD, n.d.; RD (on shield) 1684; RRD (bordered), 1662.
 AF, 1708; BF (+corner-mk., also with star, q.v.), 1726, 1729; DF, 1680 or 1693; FF (bordered), 1682, 1684; GF (+corner-mks.), 1724, 1725 (twice); HF, 1729; KPIF (cursive, bordered, Fig. 156), 1698.
 GG, 1684; PLG (large), 1684.
 H, (+GM/T), 1736, 1744; IH or HI, 1694-6; ICH (or CH?), c. 1700; LAH, 1711; PH, 1680 or 1693, 1682.
 I or J (cursive), 1711; AI, c. 1710?; P/HPI (cursive, Fig. 163), 1699; TI (central), 1693.
 IHK, 1722; KIK, 1720.
 M (+GM/T), 1724; GDM, 1708; IKM, 1748; TM, see MT; WM, c. 1730-40.
 FP (+corner-mk.), 1724, 1725; GWP, after 1707; n.d.
 R (+corner-mks.), 1695, 1722, 1723; GR, crowned in circle² (+corner-mk.); HR, 1697, 1720; PR, 1726.
 S, 1729; IS or SI, 1697.
 T (+GM/T; see also Star), 1734-5; CT or OT (see Monograms); GM/T (corner, only mark, as in Fig. 181), 1729; MT or TM, 1726 (+GM/T), 1729, 1730, n.d.; TLT (on shield), 1684.
 V crowned, with palms, 1693 (Fig. 164); IV,² 1725, 1754.
 GW, 1721; IW (see Heart); WW, c. 1700?
 X, see Cross, St. Andrew's.
 Z, cursive, small, 1705 (twice).

¹ In Harl. MS. 5935 these letters are in a central position, another unusual feature being the horizontal direction of the chain-lines.

² Common as a countermark, but unusual as a main mark, as here.

[Only a few of the above require special comment, particularly a group represented by Figs. 155, 161, in which the serifs of F, T, &c., are carried above the line. Similar letters are seen also as countermarks to the star, &c., and there is usually a small mark in the corner, the combination GM/T being particularly frequent in this position (Figs. 171, 181), where it sometimes stands as the sole mark.¹ The monogram ICH (or CH ?) with letters vertical (Fig. 173) is found also in Dutch books and may possibly stand for the Honig firm usually represented by I & CH or by the name in full. But a very similar monogram made up of the letters ICW occurs as countermark to four crowned L's arranged radially (as well as to other marks), and this would naturally be taken as French. Combinations in cursive capitals (e.g. KPIF, P/HPI, Figs. 156, 163) seem to have had a limited vogue, though such cursive letters are sometimes found associated with other marks. The crowned V with palms (Fig. 164) occurs about the same time in different forms, associated with other marks that suggest a German origin (see p. 491, *infra*).]

Lion, Rampant, Crowned. Fig. 165.

Tellez, &c. : *A New Collection*, 1710-11.

[The same mark occurs in the e.p. of a Utrecht book of 1695, and in slightly different form in a Paris one of 1723.]

Lion, with Battle-axe. Fig. 168.

Fryer : *E. India*, 1698 (+GOB).

[It is surprising to find this mark in an English book, for it presumably points to a mill in Norway or Denmark, probably the latter, as the same mark, though a different form, is found in books printed in Schleswig in the mid-seventeenth century.]

Lion, on Crowned Shield in oval band. Fig. 166.

Clayton MS., *temp.* Charles II (AJ below) ; Parly. Paper (printed), *c.* 1680-90 (+ monogr. GW or IGW) ; Chardin : *Travels*, 1686 (monogr. GVH below) ; Legal Papers, *c.* 1689, 1694 ; Pepys Papers, *c.* 1697 (AJ below +RC) ; Fryer : *E. India*, 1698 (+HP) ; Hooke : *Works*, 1705

¹ The first letter might here stand equally well for a C, but GMT in unmistakable form is found in Italian documents of the period (see p. 490).

(+BS/L as in Fig. 138); Wesley: *N. Testament*, 1701; Bowrey Papers, 1704, &c. (+HK joined; +H); and others.

[As might be expected, the Dutch lion is common on paper made for the Dutch market (as shown by the letters AJ and the monogram of Gillis van Hoeven), and is found in Dutch documents from at least 1650. It would seem to have been used by French makers, as indicated by the initials HD, and (in foreign exx.) CDG; and was closely copied also at Genoa, judging by the corner-mark of the ex. of 1705. The record of occurrences suggests that it gave place to the next mark fairly early in the eighteenth century.]

Lion, with bat on Spear, 'Vryheit' below. Fig. 167.

Moll: *Atlas Minor*, c. 1735? (+GR crowned; +HL); Legal Paper, 1745 (+GR crowned, with palms, in circle); *Chorographia Britanniae*, 1745 (ditto); Legal Paper, 1753 (+GR crowned).

[Paper with this mark seems to have been made in France or Holland for the English market, as indicated by the GR, which is sometimes found with it in Dutch books. As a mark for paper of 'foolscap' size it gave place to the Britannia after the middle of the eighteenth century. A similar lion, surrounded by a wreath, was current as a mark in Holland from before 1700.]

Lion in fence, with allegorical figure. See 'Pro Patria'.

Monograms. (See also Letters.)

PVL. Fig. 170. Pitt: *English Atlas*, 1683-5; Du Mée chart, 1702; Bowes Papers, 1720; Camden: *Britannia*, 1722.

TN on Shield, Bird above, Fig. 169. Ogilby: *Britannia*, 1698.

TO, TC, &c. Fig. 171. Books and maps of c. 1730.

[Pieter van der Ley's monogram is often found also as a countermark (to the Amsterdam and Strasburg arms, Dutch lion, &c.). The TN has been found only in the work quoted, and cannot have been common. It is doubtful whether the O or C in the last group may not really be meant for a serpent, as the marks belong to the Italian group which includes the serpent in a coil. After c. 1750 monograms in cursive capitals came into use for a time. One is shown in Fig. 175.]

Orb. Figs. 176-8.

Boccaccio translated, 1684 (Fig. 177); Irish Tract, 1689 (Fig. 176); Dugdale: *Monasticon Epitomized*, 1693 (MS at sides, Fig. 178).

[Apparently a temporary revival of an old mark. The position of the letters in the last ex. suggests a possible German origin.]

Pro Patria. Fig. 179.

MS. of 1710 (+CAW); Backing of framed portrait, 1720 or after; Bowes Papers, 1721-7 (+PVL, &c.); MS. of 1724-6 (R.G.S.) (+CAW; +IV; +GR crowned; +Honig?); Legal Paper, 1724 (+HWS); MS. of 1727 (+CAW); Legal Papers, 1747 (+GR crowned in circle), 1750 (ditto without circle), 1763 (+LVG); Reprint of Coryatt: *Traveller*, n.d. (bell below, + GR crowned); and others.

[A common mark, used by Dutch makers from about 1700 on. (A Dutch document of 1649 written on such paper, would seem to be a later copy.) Much was exported to this country, but is not seen so often in England after 1750, though the mark continued to be used in Holland.]

Quadruped (see also Hare, Horse, Unicorn). Fig. 180.

Blome: *Geography*, 1680-93 (GC above).

[The only example yet noted.]

Serpent, in coil. Fig. 181.

Moll: *Descrn. of England*, 1724 (+GM/T in corner); Moll-Templeman Atlas, 1729 (ditto); Churchill: *Voyages*, 1732 (ditto); Sloane: *Jamaica*, 1725 (?); Salmon: *Palladio Londin.*, 1734 (?).

[One of the group of marks thought to be Genoese (see Birds, Grapes, Letters, Star).]

Serpent, waved. Fig. 182.

Le Brun: *Levant*, 1702 (+ monogr. VH); Sloane: *Jamaica*, 1707.

[A late, and rather crude, revival of an old mark. It occurs in association with the previous form.]

Star (mostly 6-rayed). Figs. 183-4.

Harris: *Voyages*, 1705 (+ CG); Dugdale: *St. Paul's*, 1716;¹ Motraye: *Travels*, 1723 (+ T); Sloane: *Jamaica*, 1725 (+ BF + small scales in corner); Horsley: *Brit. Romana*, 1732 (+ A + GM/T);² Raleigh: *History*, 1736 (+ I + small flower or 'eye-glass', Fig. 183); Shaw: *Barbary*, 1738 (+ monogr. ID or DI + GM/T, Fig. 184); Churchill: *Voyages*, 1744 (+ D + 'eye-glass'); Cantemir: *Othman Empire*, 1734-5 (as Shaw, 1738).

[The star seems always to have been a favourite mark in Italy, alone or in combination. The present form has not yet been found in Italian books (though something like it was certainly used later by Genoese makers) and the paper may have been made specially for the English market. For other marks of the same group see under Birds, Letters, Serpent, &c.]

Swan. See Birds.*Sword.*

Bowrey Papers, 1705 (+ IK, Fig. 190); Tournefort: *Levant*, 1741 (folding plate only, Fig. 187).

[Not a common mark.]

— *in Wreath.*

Bowrey Papers, 1704-5 (+ monogr. PV, Fig. 189); Narborough: *Voyages*, 1711 (+ DR, Fig. 190); Legal Paper, 1719 (+ DB cursive); Blank sheet, n.d.

[This appears to have had some vogue in the early eighteenth century. Its style may be compared with that of the horse in a wreath, q.v.]

¹ Both the mark and the paper of this ex. are unlike those in the others. The paper would appear to be French or Dutch.

² Mostly with seven rays in this book.

Unicorn. Fig. 193.

Harris : *Globes*, 1732 ; Comelin and others : *Barbary*, 1735
(+ 'eye-glass' ?) ; Salmon : *Modern History*, 1739
(+ monogr. IO,¹ Fig. 193).

[The two last belong apparently to the group so often spoken of as probably Italian. Their crude style recalls that of the 'Picador' and bull so much in evidence in Spanish documents a little later. The first ex. is somewhat less crude.]

Wreath with letters.

Sanson : *Persia*, 1695 (fragment only, letters doubtful).
(With AM, Fig. 192.) Evelyn : *Medals*, 1697. (With GD,
Fig. 191.) Garrett : *Direction for the Traveller*, c. 1676 ;
Rydal Hall Papers, 1681 (two forms) ; e.p. of book, n.d.

[The letters IS occur in Holland in a wreath in the style of the first, about the same time, and may stand for Jacques Salmon of Angoulême. The cruder form of Fig. 191 is closely matched in a Dutch book of 1685, but with the letters RGG. (The initials GD recall those often seen with the mark shown as Fig. 19, December 1930, which refer probably to Gilles Durand.)]

Undetermined.

As Fig. 194. Wheler : *Journey into Greece*, 1682.

Style of Fig. 195. House of Commons Papers (printed), 1680
(two forms).

[It is difficult to say what is the meaning of the latter device, which occurs in various forms in papers seen by Mr. W. A. Churchill in the Palermo Archives, which are no doubt Italian. The field seems further narrowed by the style of the border, found in other marks (e.g. the Pascal Lamb) used in Venetian territory. One of the Palermo examples has as countermark the place-name Toscolano (near Salò on the Lake of Garda), where much paper was made about this time (see Briquet, p. 538).]

Some deductions from the above Records. It was hinted in the previous article that the close of the seventeenth century was

¹ It is uncertain whether the circular mark is an O or a serpent, as it is not joined above. (See Monograms.)

in some ways a turning-point in the history of the paper-supply to this country, and this can be substantiated by a closer examination of the record of marks. Whilst we had depended largely on the French mills through the greater part of the century, new sources were tapped during the last few decades, though the French source still remained open to some extent.

English Paper. The long-continued efforts to develop the industry in this country (as also in Holland) now began to bear fruit—helped perhaps by the advent to England of Huguenot refugees, who started mills in Hampshire and elsewhere. In 1675, 1680, and 1685, patents for new methods were granted to Eustace Barneby (or Burneby), Nathaniel Bladen, and John Briscoe respectively,¹ and initials that might stand for each of these appear on papers of about this time, though IB might refer to more than one foreign maker. The NB is found about 1685 associated with the English arms of Fig. 107, but the presence also of AJ (Abraham Janssen ?) on the same paper, as also the elegant style of the mark, tells against its attribution to Bladen. (Several French makers about this time also had surnames in B, e.g. Bernard, Bassuet, &c.) There is a doubt, too, about the EB, which may refer to Elliston and Basket, whose names appear in full associated with the London arms, giving the first fairly satisfactory evidence permitting the identification of English paper. In Scotland, too, some success attended similar efforts, a company being formed in Edinburgh in 1695, and a mill built by Mr. Anderson, the Queen's printer, in 1709.² It seems just possible that the former may have been responsible for paper marked with the grapes, with counter-mark 'Company', just at this time (see December number, 1930, p. 282).³

¹ Bremner, *Industries of Scotland*, 1869, p. 322.

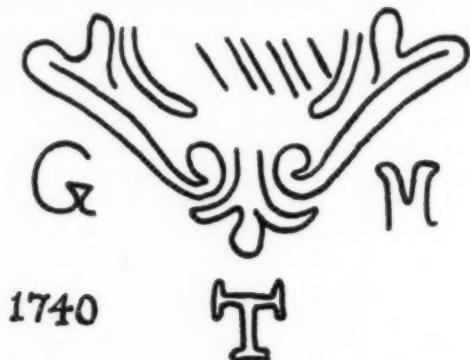
² Bremner, loc. cit.

³ Besides the record there given, the word is to be found in the Lexington Papers in 1695 and 1697, and in the *Coasting Pilot* in 1701.

Dutch and French Paper. As some of the Angoulême mills were worked by Dutch capital, and the papers there made bore initials of Dutch factors, it is difficult to disentangle the French from the Dutch paper of the period. In the last decades of the seventeenth century Dutch paper-making made great strides, and there is no doubt that much came thence to this country, as is evidenced by the monograms of Van der Ley and Van Hoeven. The paper used by Pepys for his Library catalogues and other lists seems to have been either Dutch or from Angoulême. After 1700 the appearance of the names Honig and Van Til gives further proof of our partial dependence on Dutch merchants, and the letter H, frequently found alone, may stand for their compatriot Hessels. There is little trace of the use during this period of paper from eastern or central France.

Italian Paper. The large supply of paper received in quite early days from Italy, especially from Genoa, was dwelt upon in the first article of this series (*The Library*, December 1929). During most of the seventeenth century this seems to have ceased almost entirely, but from about 1680 there is evidence that Italian paper was once more extensively used for half a century or more. A statement by Firmin Didot that in the early eighteenth century England imported annually from Genoa 40,000 reams is quoted by Briquet (*Papiers . . . des Archives de Gênes*, 1888, p. 55), and this is fully borne out by a study of the marks in English documents. Even before 1680 the arms of the Republic of Genoa (Fig. 114) are occasionally met with, together with the three circles in the true Genoese style (Fig. 123), besides what appear to be imitations. The small corner-marks so constantly met with somewhat later (see under 'Birds', 'Letters', 'Star', &c., *supra*) are in themselves typical of Genoese paper, and the actual devices of some of them are met with in the Genoese Archives either in association with the arms of the Republic (Briquet, *op. cit.*, Fig. 250) or

as a sole mark (ibid., Fig. 443). One such corner-mark, the leg shown in Fig. 160, *infra*, is evidently the 'rebus' of the name Gambino, a noted Genoese maker whose name figures in a list of makers at work in 1675 quoted by Briquet (op. cit., p. 52), and later appears in full in marks seen by Mr. Churchill in the Palermo Archives. Further confirmation of the Italian origin of these papers is given by the common corner-mark GMT, seen with many of the marks now recorded, for the same letters are to be found below another Italian mark from Palermo (see accompanying figure). It may be that the wars of the period cut off some of the French supply, encouraging at the same time an import from the then flourishing industry at Genoa.



Some Italian paper may also have come from Venetian territory, for the makers at Salò and other places on the Lake of Garda enjoyed great prosperity in the late seventeenth century (see the last item in the foregoing list). The names Vorno and Vigos found on some papers used in England are probably both Italian, but cannot yet be definitely localized (though a village near Lucca bears the latter name).

German or Swiss Paper. There is little sure evidence that any

supply came from these quarters in our present period, but some indications favour the idea that such paper was used to a small extent, especially about the last decade of the seventeenth century. A lateral position of makers' initials, as in Fig. 178, seems to be rather typical of German marks, as is shown both by some figured by Briquet from before 1600 and from later marks in my own collection. Moreover, the orb in other forms is often met with in Germany. Apart from the common forms of Figs. 66 and 149, the horn is found more often in Germany than elsewhere after about 1650, and its association in Fig. 150 with a maker's initials is to be matched in Reyher's *Monumenta Thuringiae* (Gotha, 1692), as well as (a good deal later) in the *Almanach von Ungarn*, Vienna, 1778. This last book has also the horn without letters, and the device is likewise to be seen, in less common forms, at Schleswig (1654, 1656, 1657), Jena, 1675, Vienna, 1695, Stockholm (?), c. 1730, &c.

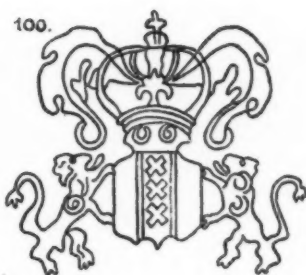
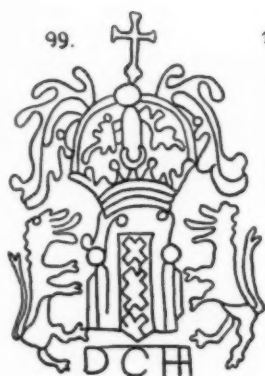
The fine letter V of Fig. 164 stands by itself (apart from variants of almost the same date) and cannot yet be localized, but as two of the forms appear in the same book as Fig. 150, it is possible that it, too, is German; for Reyher's book has another mark with the letters CV or CCV. Another possibly German mark is the horse, and although it has not so far been met with in a German book in the style of Figs. 150 and 151, a fine specimen, without wreath, has been found on the endpapers of a German book of 1719.¹ A solitary instance of the use of Danish (?) paper in England has been noted under 'Lion'.

¹ The revival of printing and paper-making at Frankfurt at the close of the seventeenth century through the enterprise of the noted bookseller Zunner, might account for the export of German paper about this time, though the greatest activity seems to have been rather after 1700 (see Dietz: *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, 1921, vol. 3). An indication of relations between German and English booksellers in the 'eighties is afforded by the issue in London in 1682 of an English version of Ludolf's *Ethiopia*, published by Zunner at Frankfurt in 1681.

General Summary. An early dependence on Italy for paper-supply, side by side with France, yielded gradually in favour of the latter, the Swiss and German mills also playing their part during the second half of the sixteenth century. After 1600 the use of Italian paper became decidedly less, though some still came in, perhaps for special purposes. A virtual monopoly of the English market was maintained by France during much of the seventeenth century, but after about 1680 the successful development of the industry both in Holland and England widened the sources, while Italian paper regained its lost ground, and was largely imported during some half-century. With the decay of the Genoese paper-industry after about 1740 this source seems to have failed. In the second half of the eighteenth century the energy of James Whatman put English paper-making on a firm footing, while the Scottish mills also sent a good deal to London. French paper of high quality continued to hold its ground (as it did also during the nineteenth century), and paper from Auvergne marked with the Eagle, Dovecot, &c., was used to some extent for purposes requiring stout paper of large size. But this brings us to modern times and does not come within the scope of the present inquiry.

Note. In assigning a Genoese origin to many of the marks mentioned above, more attention should perhaps have been paid to the possibility that some may be from the south of France, where, as Briquet has shown, the Genoese fashion is known to have been copied.

Acknowledgement is once more due to help freely given by Mr. W. A. Churchill. Valuable help has also been received on matters heraldic from Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library.



GLC

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108.



109.



110.



111.



112.



114.



113.



PHIO

115.



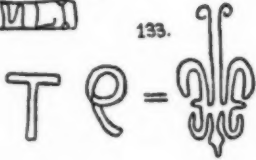
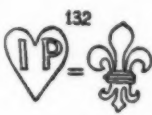
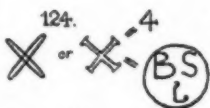
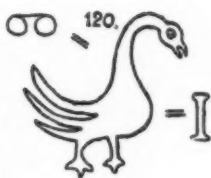
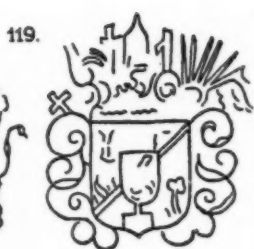
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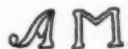
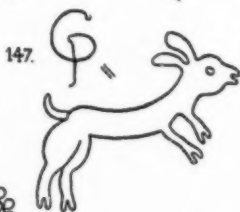
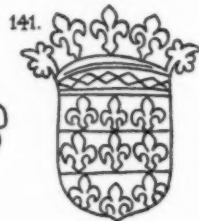
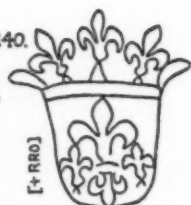
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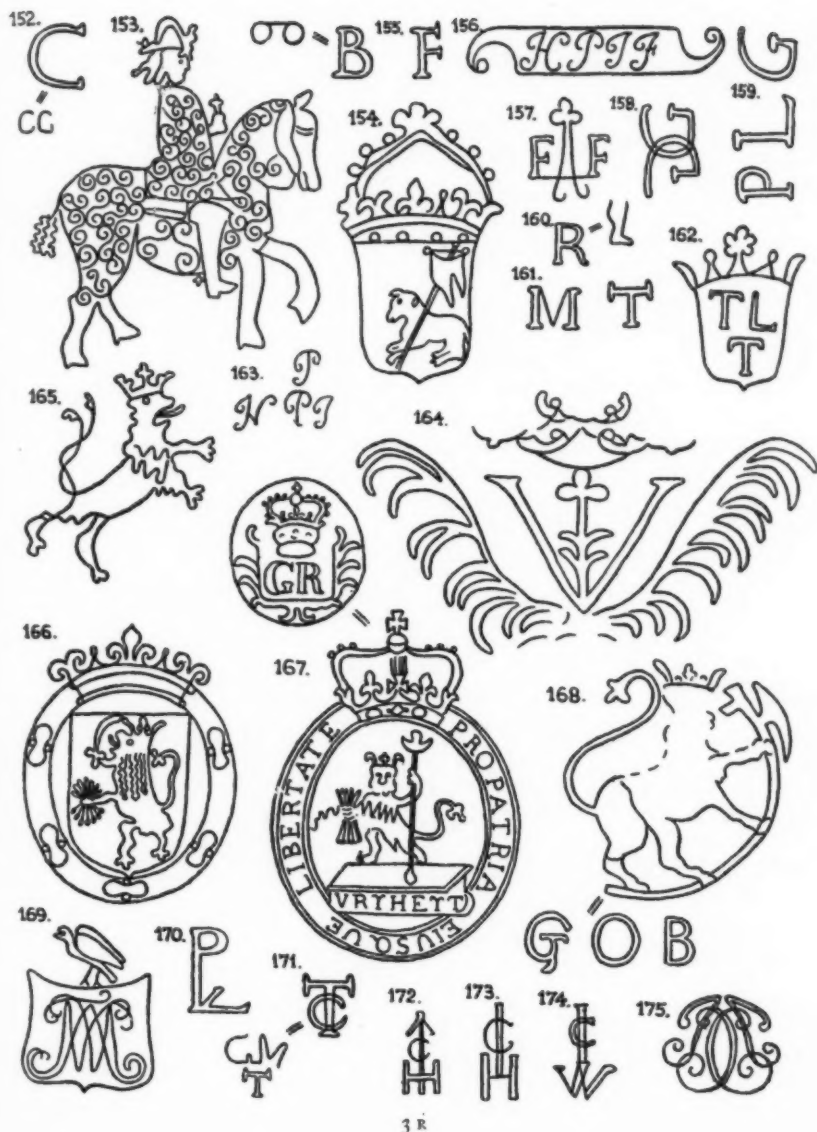


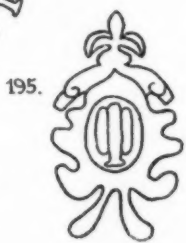
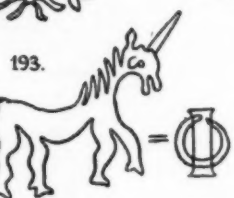
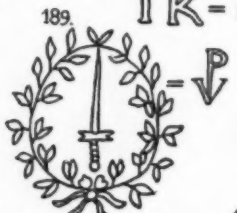
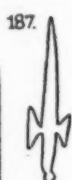
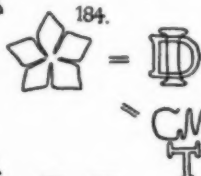
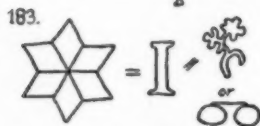
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A PLAYBILL OF 1687

By ELEANORE BOSWELL



READERS of Pepys's Diary will recall that when he wanted to know what was to be that day acted, he went to see what play was 'upon the posts'.¹ On the strength of his references, stage historians have assumed the sticking up of bills on posts about the town to have been one of the chief methods of theatrical advertising at that time; but hitherto, although search has been made, no seventeenth-century example of such a poster has been found.² It is, therefore, all the more surprising to discover one in the collection of State Papers Domestic; the explanation lies in the fact that those belonging to the reign of James II have never been calendared.

Folio 215 of Volume III, Part 2 is a bill measuring approximately $9\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ inches, decorated with the royal arms with the initials I²R at the top.³ It reads:

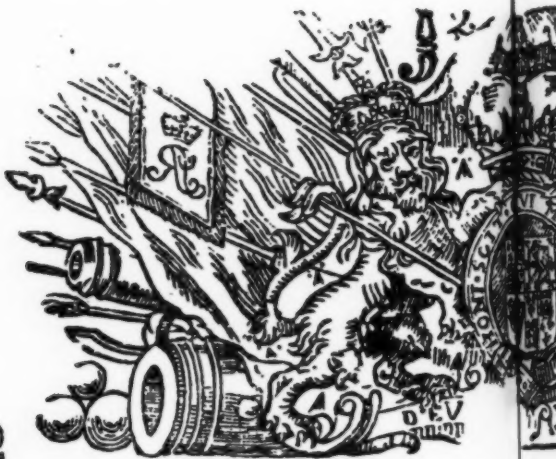
At the Theatre Royall, this present Tuesday being the Twenty Second day of February, will be presented, A Play called, A King, and No King. Beginning Exact<ly a>t Four of the Clock. <By the>ir Majesties Servants, Vivat Rex

The only year in James's short reign in which the twenty-second of February fell on Tuesday was 1687. The announcement of the hour is of interest as establishing the fact that five o'clock performances did not come in until very late in the

¹ Entries for 24 March 1661/2 and 28 July 1664.

² W. J. Lawrence found four small bills of the type delivered at patrons' houses or thrown into carriages, among the Verney Papers, and published them in *The Elizabethan Playhouse*, II. pp. 240-1.

³ Folio 216 is the fragment of a similar bill, showing the same arms and the words 'Royall' and 'Twenty First day of'.



AT the TH' AT
this present Tuesday being
of February, will be prefe

A Play c

A King, and

Beginning Exact

MAJESTIES SERVANTS,



THEATRE ROYALL,
being the Twenty Second day
presented,
Play called,
and No King.
Four of the Clock.
VIVAT REX

century.¹ As for the play itself, *A King and No King* was one of the stock pieces of the King's Company and was frequently revived, but apparently there is no other notice of this performance.² It is, of course, fruitless to conjecture how the playbill found its way into the State Papers ; there is no reason to assume governmental concern at the revival of such a well-known play, especially as it had been acted at Whitehall on the preceding 9 December.³

¹ The hour is not stated on the small bills published by Lawrence.

² See A. C. Sprague, *Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage*.

³ P.R.O., LC. 5/147, p. 260.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IMPRINTS

By R. W. CHAPMAN



BOOKSELLER in the eighteenth century covers three distinct activities: (1) that of the publisher in the modern sense, i.e. the person or persons who dealt with the author and paid the printer's bill; (2) that of a 'wholesaler' who might undertake the work of distribution, or a part of it; (3) that of the retailer. Any or all of these functions might be performed by an individual bookseller.

The regular imprint-formula for the publisher is *Printed for A. B.* I believe that *Sold by C. D.* indicates either a wholesaler, or a retailer enjoying an agency (not, perhaps, an exclusive agency) for the book. This seems to be implied by the common type of imprint *Printed for A. B. and sold by C. D.*

Printers' imprints are exceptional in the period. When they occur they are to be taken at their face value. *Printed by A. B.* means that A. B. was the printer. The only difficulty is caused by the form *Printed and sold by A. B.*, which has led the unwary to assume either that the printer was the publisher (but when printer and publisher were one, the form *Printed by and for A. B.* could be, and was, used) or that the publisher described the book as printed 'by' himself when, in fact, he paid some one else to print it.

But I believe that *Printed and sold by A. B.* is a misreading of a title-page, and that the full form, *London: Printed and sold by A. B.*, is (in spite of the colon, and often of the alignment) to be interpreted as 'Printed in London and sold by A. B.' For (1) there is sometimes a comma after *Printed*; and the comma before *and*, normal in the seventeenth century, is not normal in the eighteenth.

(2) The expression *London printed* occurs unequivocally. The imprint of Percy's *Northumberland Household-Book* is simply

LONDON PRINTED
M.DCC.LXX.

And cf. the *Dunciad* imprints:

(a) Dublin, Printed, London Reprinted for A. Dodd;

(b) LONDON :

Printed, and Dublin Reprinted by and for, etc.

(3) Booksellers still use the expressions 'Dublin printed', 'Newcastle printed', when they wish to advertise the work of provincial presses as such. I suggest that this is traditional.

(4) The form *Dublin : Printed and Reprinted for A. B. in (London)* is I think conclusive. For it is nonsense unless it be read as I propose.

This is all rather *a priori*. But I suggest that examination of a substantial series of imprints in the light of newspaper (and other) advertisements, and perhaps of printers' records, would yield instructive results.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke: herausgegeben von der Kommission. Band IV: *Bernardus de Cracovia—Brentius*. Leipzig, 1930: Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann. pp. viii, 695.

THE fourth volume of the great General Catalogue of Incunabula appears with an alarming number of sheets of *Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen* for the previous three volumes, printed on one side of the paper only: the possessor ought to cut them out and stick them in their proper places, but it means neat fingers and a week's hard work. The new volume does not repeat the general introduction (showing the system of the descriptions) of the previous volumes, and the only preliminary matter is a list of abbreviations of works of reference now adduced for the first time: at the end is an alphabetical list of the places of printing of the three longest headings in this instalment—Biblia, Boethius and Bonaventura, and a complete account of the variants of the first edition of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (Hain *3736: Basle, Johann Bergmann, 1494), of which nine copies are known to exist, *all* differing on 24 of its 158 leaves!

The Bible takes 126 out of the 670 pages devoted to descriptions, Boethius 64, Bonaventura 108: and it is interesting to observe that in the case of the last-named doubtful and pseud-epigraphic works are at least twice as numerous as the genuine. Other headings of interest and extent in this volume are Beroaldus, Gabriel Biel 'the last of the Schoolmen', Birgitta, Boccaccio, Boniface VIII, and Sebastian Brant mentioned above. The classification of these long headings is important, especially to those who will use the book less with a strictly bibliographical object than to find material for history or literary criticism: the arrangement of the Bible seems to me good, but is too long to set out here, and Boethius provides a fair specimen.

BOETHIUS

*Opera.*In Ciceronis Topica *commentum*.

De consolatione philosophiae.

A. Latin.

(a) Texts.

(b) With commentary.

(i) of pseudo-Thomas Aquinas (Thomas Waleys).

[Also in *Opera*.]

(ii) of pseudo-Thomas Aquinas and of Jodocus Badius Ascensius.

B. Latin with translation and commentary.

(a) Latin and German by Peter of Kastel, with commentary of pseudo-Thomas Aquinas.

(b) Latin and Dutch, with Dutch Commentary.

C. Translations.

(a) German by Peter of Kastel.

(b) English by Geoffrey Chaucer.

(c) French.

(i) By Jean de Meun.

(ii) By Regnier of St. Trudon, with his French commentary.

(iii) By an unknown translator, in verse.

(d) Catalan by Antonio Ginebreda.

(e) Spanish by Antonio Ginebreda.

De hebdomadibus. See Quomodo substantiae . . .

De institutione arithmetica.

Quomodo Substantiae bonae sint.

PSEUDO-BOETHIUS

De disciplina scholarium.

A. Texts.

B. With commentary.

(a) of pseudo-Thomas Aquinas

[Also in *Opera* and with other works.]

(b) of unknown commentator.

This is a worthy instalment of the whole great work. Having reached Brentius in four volumes, shall we really complete the alphabet in the promised twelve, or fourteen?

S. G.

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Semi-Annual Meeting[s] held in Boston April 1928–October 1929. Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Published by the Society, 1928–30.

THESE four half volumes contain much bibliographical matter, covering several fields, and all of interest. There are two articles by Thomas J. Holmes on 'The Bookbindings of John Ratcliff and Edmund Ranger, seventeenth-century Boston Bookbinders', starting from Increase Mather's own copy of his *A Call from Heaven*, 1679, the binding of which is traced to John Ratcliff who sold the book (printed by J. Foster). Ratcliff also bound a Common Place Book of Samuel Sewall (started 29 Dec. 1677) and *The Book of the Generall Lawes and Libertyes concerning the inhabitants of the Massachusetts* (1660), and illustrations are given of all three covers. Of bindings by Edmund Ranger dated about 1686–7, two diagrams are given in the second article. Mr. Wilberforce Eames contributes to Vol. 38, Pt. 2, forty-five pages on 'The Antigua Press and Benjamin Mecom, 1748–65', Mr. Mecom being a nephew of Benjamin Franklin, who worked his press occasionally in 'a powdered bob wig, ruffles and gloves'; he seems to have been rather a rolling stone. In Vol. 39, Pt. 1, one hundred and forty pages are devoted to a 'Bibliography of American Cookery Books' (492 of them, dating between 1742 and 1860) by Waldo Lincoln. In Vol. 38, Pt. 1, the principal article is a 'Checklist of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont Almanacs' (ranging respectively from 1787, 1757 and 1784 to 1850) compiled by Charles Lemuel Nichols, President of the American Antiquarian Society and one of the earliest American members of the Bibliographical. Dr. Nichols died at Worcester on 19 February 1929, regretted by many English as well as American book-lovers. His life and work are commemorated in the Report of the Council of the A.A.S. for April 1929, in which it is also noted that 'as a result of instructions given to his heirs, the Society has received his large and important collection of Worcester books'.

A Bibliography of the Waverley Novels by GREVILLE WORTHINGTON. With a frontispiece in collotype and twenty-one facsimiles. London: Constable & Co. Ltd.; New York: Richard R. Smith Inc. (First published 1931. Bibliographies: Studies in book history and book structure, 1750-1900. Edited by Michael Sadleir.) pp. xvi, 144. Price 24s. net.

WE are casting no slur whatever on Mr. Greville Worthington's meticulously careful work when we warn any lovers of Scott who may expect to find in it pleasant gossip about the circumstances attending the publication of the successive *Waverley Novels* that this book is not for them. It is not as absolutely unreadable as the collations of illustrations given by Proctor in his monograph on Jan van Doesborgh, but much of it is very nearly so, and should be none the less esteemed. Mr. Worthington's bibliography is written for owners, buyers, and sellers of possible first editions. It will prevent buyers making bad bargains and bring joy or vexation to owners (whether wishing to sell or not) according as their copies conform to the minute and abundant tests laid down for distinguishing the best state of the First Edition of each novel, or group of novels. Mr. Worthington is, of course, quite right in writing of 'states' in preference to 'issues' or 'variants'; he is wise, as well as merciful, in ignoring inserted advertisements, and presents the probabilities of copies in quarter-leather (as contrasted with full paper or quarter-cloth) being original with scrupulous fairness. He tells all there is to be told about labels and permits himself a brief statement of the comparative rarity of copies of different first editions. Two points suggest themselves. In his Preface Mr. Worthington writes 'My "First State" is the variety which I believe to be preferable, from the collector's point of view, to any other'. This suggests, though it probably does not cover, a confusion between 'First' and 'Best', which might cause a state to be called the First when its priority is uncertain. The second query is trifling, but more peremptory. Mr. Worthington tells us that in the first line of *Waverley*,

vol. ii, p. 136 'the y of the word *your* has dropped out', but there is a definite space where the y, it is to be presumed, was once present. Mr. Worthington has never seen a copy of the First Edition with the word *your* correctly printed and doubts whether a copy exists. He supports this belief by the absence of the y from the copy which the publishers sent to Henry Mackenzie to whom *Waverley*, though anonymous, was dedicated, and remarks: 'It is reasonable to suppose that the publishers sent Mackenzie his copy at Scott's request before the book was issued to the public, and this being so, the y of the word *your* should in this copy surely be in place if it ever was'. This is the old heresy that the order in which copies are issued has a necessary connexion with the order in which they were printed, and surely Mr. Worthington knows better. It may be guessed that the y was there all the time, but owing to a defect in its shank its face kept below the level of the other letters and so never caught the ink. The defect caused the misprint *our* for *your* in the second and third editions.

A Bibliography of John Masefield. Compiled by CHARLES H. SIMMONS. London, Oxford University Press; New York, Columbia University Press, 1930. (Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass.). pp. xi. 171. Price 31s. 6d. net. 750 numbered and 50 unnumbered copies.

THIS is a very pleasant and civilized bibliography. The books are described by their owner; titles are all in one roman type; line divisions are marked by thin slanting strokes, and there are no brackets. Instead of enclosing explanatory additions in brackets Mr. Simmons prints them in italics, thus:

[26]

John M. Synge: A Few Personal / Recollections, with Biograph- / ical Notes by John Masefield *first three lines in red, the remaining lines in black* / *Device* / The Cuala Press / Churchtown / Dundrum / MCMXV.

[49]

King Cole / By / John Masefield / With Drawings in Black and White / By /

Judith Masfield / *Publisher's device with date: 1921 / Rule /* London: William Heinemann.

This seems both clear and workmanlike, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Simmons's new style may be imitated. After the title follows the measurement, a collection by contents and pages with a note of the signatures, a careful description of the publisher's casing; year, month, and day of publication, and in most entries the number of copies printed. The main bibliography is followed by a list of publications containing contributions by John Masfield chronologically arranged and notes of seven earlier bibliographies, and six or seven score articles, reviews, and appreciations. In addition to a portrait of Mr. Masfield, the book is lit up by six drawings, two of them by Jack B. Yeats, two others by Judith B. Masfield. A guinea and a half may seem rather a high price for the volume, but no right-minded purchaser, after reading the story of the publication of Mr. Masfield's *The Everlasting Mercy* as told first by Mr. Austin Harrison and then by Mr. Frank Sidgwick (checked by Mr. Simmons), will doubt that he has been given full value for his money.

A Shakespeare Bibliography. By WALTER EBISCH, Ph.D., librarian of the English Seminar, University of Leipzig, in collaboration with LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING, Professor at the University of Leipzig. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1931. pp. xviii, 294. Price 21s. net.

THIS will be found a useful book although, owing to the meagreness of the references in its index, it will only yield its best to those who take some trouble to find out what is in it. It is a bibliography not of original editions of Shakespeare's plays and poems, but of the work of other people on these, their author, his contemporaries and surroundings, so that edited editions and even facsimiles are recorded, but not early texts as texts. Entries are grouped under (in most cases) well-chosen headings, and these follow each other in a sequence in which

there is plenty of method, though the links are not sufficiently obvious to imprint it very quickly on the user's memory, so the ten-page synopsis at the beginning of the book is likely soon to show signs of wear. Entries are fairly generously repeated under different headings. Annotations are good, but scantily given. Papers in periodicals, and sometimes sections of a work are entered separately as well as books, and the volumes of the *Library* seem to have been carefully searched. All the books looked for have been found, so omissions of any importance are probably few. A few errors have been noted. On page 1 the anonymity of the General Catalogue of the British Museum is disregarded to ascribe the heading 'Shakespeare' to G. K. Fortescue, who may safely be said to have had nothing to do with it. On page 26 the heading 'The Cunningham Forgeries' disregards the vindication by Ernest Law and others of the disputed entries in the Revels Accounts. On p. 52 the date '[1885]' for the inception of the Facsimiles of Shakespeare Quartos promoted by Dr. Furnivall is five years too late. But the general standard of accuracy is high.

English Incunabula in The John Rylands Library. A Catalogue of Books Printed in England and of English Books Printed abroad between the years 1475 and 1500. Manchester: The Manchester University Press. 1930. pp. xvi, 102. £1 1s. net.

THIS catalogue of the English books printed before the close of the fifteenth century, now preserved in the Rylands Library at Manchester, deserves a hearty welcome both for its own sake and as a first instalment of a complete catalogue of the Rylands books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, to the close of the year 1640. A temporary short-title catalogue of the books of the whole period drawn up by E. Gordon Duff was printed as long ago as 1895, four years before the Library was opened. The present catalogue was begun in 1910 and completed six years later, but owing to more

pressing demands on the resources of the library, it was found impracticable to put it in print. When the full catalogue appears, it will be considerably larger than at the time of its first completion in 1916, as no fewer than twelve hundred books have since been added. The present instalment registers only 154 items, of which 132 form part of the Althorp Library acquired by Mrs. Rylands in 1892. Of the 22 additions since made the most important is the *Explanaciones in Job* of Richard Roll of Hampole, presumably acquired by purchase or exchange from the Cambridge University Library, which at one time owned three copies. Other important books are the *Chronicles of England*, printed by Caxton in 1480; the Little Book of the Pestilence, printed by Machlinia about 1485, and a *Sarum Missal* of 1498, printed by J. notaire (Julian notary) and J. barbier, at the expense of Wynkyn de Worde. Besides these the library has been fortunate in acquiring several Indulgences and fragments of books of which no complete copy exists, most of which may be presumed to have survived by being used for the packing of bindings before pasteboards were invented.

The main entries of the catalogue are arranged in alphabetical order, in long lines, followed by a chronological index in double columns, an index of printers and booksellers, and a subject-index, this last being a useful addition which few cataloguers hitherto have attempted.

Asterisks against twenty-two of the entries denote that the copy described, as far as is known, is unique; and against twelve others there is a dagger which signifies that only one other copy is at present known.

The catalogue ends with sixteen facsimiles printed on glazed paper which inspires doubts, possibly unfounded, as to its permanence, whereas they would have produced an effect much nearer to that of their originals on the paper used for the rest of the book. Save in this respect, this instalment of the

new catalogue deserves nothing but praise and it is much to be hoped that further volumes will speedily follow.

Bibliographia Aberdonensis. Being an account of Books relating to or printed in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Kincardine, or written by natives or residents or by officers graduates or Alumni of the Universities of Aberdeen. By JAMES FOWLER KELLAS JOHNSTONE, LL.D., and ALEXANDER WEBSTER ROBERTSON. [Vol. II] 1641-1700. Aberdeen. Printed for the Third Spalding Club. 1930. pp. xxxv. 317-696.

THIS second instalment of the great work of Dr. Kellas Johnstone and Mr. A. W. Robertson lacks some of the peculiar interest with which the record of the wandering scholars of Aberdeen filled the first. As the years went by Aberdonians are found much less frequently in the seats of learning on the Continent, and much more often in London, where they are no more picturesque than its other inhabitants, but the entries in this second volume are made with the same fulness and care, and the biographical notes continue to be important. Preceding the General Index (mainly of authors and titles, which occupies ninety-five pages) at the end of the catalogue is an index of location, from which we gather that there are more of the books here registered in the British Museum than in any other library, though the Bodleian is also rich and three Edinburgh libraries, the Advocates (National Library of Scotland), the Signet, and the Library of Edinburgh University, if no allowance is made for duplicates, probably between them beat the British Museum. The University Library at Aberdeen at a rough reckoning comes just behind the Bodleian. Prefixed to this second volume is an interesting and sympathetic sketch of 'the compiler of the *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*' in which Mr. John Malcolm Bulloch tells how Dr. Kellas Johnstone, who was the son of a working tailor, educated himself, though he never shone at school, and made a competent fortune, retaining an interest in old books as his permanent hobby throughout his life. There is also an interesting survey of the

book, entitled 'An advance review' by Mr. William Keith Leask, who brings out many of its striking features, notably the interest of the Wandering Scholars whose books it records, emphasized in our notice of the first volume. The third Spalding Club and every one concerned may be warmly congratulated on their success in bringing this fine book to completion.

Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1926-1930. Edinburgh, Printed for the Society. 1930. pp. xii, 89-120.

THE distinctive feature of this final instalment of a very thin volume is a collotype reproduction in red and black of the sixteen pages of the service of the *Compassio beate Marie* with the colophon: 'Impressū Edinburgi p Johānē Story nomine & mandato Karoli Stule', of which the unique copy is owned by the Earl of Strathmore. As Mr. G. P. Johnston, who writes on it, points out, this is 'the only known copy of the only known book, of the only known printer in Scotland between 1510 and 1532 and it is therefore the solitary representative of the early Scottish press for 22 years', and as such deserves to be reproduced in facsimile in its entirety as has now been done. The other notable contribution to the fascicule is Mr. G. D. Hobson's 'Further notes on the binding of the Haye Manuscript', a translation of three French treatises finished in 1456 by Gilbert of the Haye, edited by Mr. J. H. Stevenson for the Scottish Text Society in 1901, as to the binding of which he subsequently wrote in vol. vi of the Society's papers. The binding is remarkable as bearing the name of the binder Patrick Lowes, whom previous writers, in the belief that it was approximately contemporary with the book, have identified tentatively with Patrick de Lowis, a burgher of Roslin, who died before 1466. Mr. Hobson shows from a comparison of its pattern and stamps, that while the pattern is found at both Erfurt and Cologne, the stamps came from Cologne, where numerous

Scottish students matriculated at the university. He believes the binding to have been made from twenty to forty years after the manuscript, probably by a Patrick Lowes, a chaplain, mentioned in a legal document of 1494.

A. W. P.

Sir D'Arcy Power: Selected Writings, 1877-1930. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1931. pp. x, 368. 25s. net.

THE Festschrift in which admiring disciples seek to demonstrate how much they have profited by the teaching of a Master now and again works out according to plan; but the plan has its risks. Some of the promoters of this more admirable volume may have heard of the settlement of a discussion as to the form another testimonial should take by the remark: 'Let's give him a dinner; we can all of us eat that!' Certainly by approaching Sir D'Arcy Power with a petition to be allowed to print a selection of his own essays the subscribers have secured for themselves a book on which they will all be able to feast with pleasure. The first paper here printed on 'John Hunter: a martyr to science', while telling much else about Hunter, takes its title from the writer's argument that the great surgeon died from the cumulative effects of an inoculation he had performed on himself as an experiment twenty-six years earlier. The three papers on 'English Medicine and Surgery in the 14th century', 'The Education of a Surgeon under Thomas Vicary', and 'The Fees of Our Ancestry' are notable contributions to the history of surgery in England and with plenty of interest for the general reader. Another paper gives an account of John Ward (who after hesitating long between Physic and Divinity was Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon from 1662 till his death in 1681), and of the famous diary or note-books which he kept from August 1648, when an undergraduate at Oxford. This has now passed to American ownership after six of its sixteen volumes had been transcribed by Sir D'Arcy himself and the other ten

epitomized under his inspiration. Another paper concerned with a Diary shows that Samuel Pepys discontinued his for lack of the cylindrical glasses which would have easily remedied his combination of hypermetopia and a slight degree of astigmatism, but which were not then made. In two papers on 'How British Surgery came to America' and 'The Centenary of the Royal College of Surgeons of England' Sir D'Arcy shows that he can make the medical history of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as interesting as that of earlier days. The volume ends (save for an Index) with 'A Short-title Bibliography of the writings of Sir D'Arcy Power', comprising no fewer than 609 entries, of which 1-382 are classified as Historical, Biographical, and Bibliographical, while the other 226 are Surgical. In the former section the 316 Biographical entries bulk much the most largely, most of them being contributions either to the *British Journal of Surgery* or the *D.N.B.*, for which Sir D'Arcy seems to have begun to write in or a little before 1893 when it was reaching the end of L in its first alphabet. A colophon tells us 'The idea of this book was conceived by the Osler Club'. It was a good inspiration.

A. W. P.

INDEX

For Special indexes to Mr. G. D. Hobson's paper on *Parisian Binding 1500-25*, see pp. 425-34.

- Abbott, Wilbur C., his *Bibliography of Cromwell* reviewed, 238 sqq.
- Abyssinia, The Beginnings of Printing in*, by S. Gaselee, 93-6.
- Accountancy, Tudor books on, 209.
- Account Book*, E. F. Bosanquet on *An Early* (1582) *Printed*, 203-11.
- Accounts (unprofessional), Tudor examples of, 208.
- Achard, his *Cours élémentaire de Bibliographie* (1806-7), 157.
- Acorn pattern on bindings, 398.
- Adriano, Placido, his miscellany for actors in the *Commedia dell' arte*, 25.
- Amateurs and scholars in bibliography, 248 sq.
- Americana, at Holkham, 450.
- American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, Apr. 1928-Oct. 1929, noticed, 507.
- Amharic printing, 93-6.
- Amor Costante, L'*, title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Amsterdam, arms of, in watermarks, 466-8 and n.
- Angers, panel stamps used at, 413.
- Angoulême paper, marks of, 477; supported by Dutch capital, 489.
- Annunciation panel on bindings, from *Mystery Plays*, 399.
- Arabic and roman figures, 208, 210.
- Arms in watermarks, 265-71, 466-72.
- 'Assembled parts', theory of dramatic texts formed from, 113 sqq.
- Austin, Richard, types cut by, for John Bell, 372 (page set in)-375.
- Author's copy, treatment by printer, 179-92.
- Bald, R. C., his ed. of Middleton's *A Game of Chess*, reviewed by J. D. Wilson, 105-6.
- Bale, Bp., his plays on the Baptism and Temptation, 53-6.
- Barwick, G. F., on *Bibliographical Societies and Bibliography*, 151-9.
- Baskerville, John, his roman types, 368-71; page of 'monotype' Baskerville, 370.
- Beal, John, printer, note (in 1616) on correction of the press, 103.
- Beckford, William, *A Bibliography of W. Beckford*, by Guy Chapman, noticed, 387.
- Beginnings of Printing in Abyssinia*, paper by S. Gaselee, 93-6.
- Bell, John, types cut for, by Rich. Austin, 372 sqq.
- Bensley, Thomas, H. V. Marrot's book on, noticed, 235 sq.
- Benson, John, and And. Crooke, alleged dishonest entry of works of Ben Jonson in Stat. Reg. to damage of T. Walkley, 227, 461.
- Berthelet, Thomas, his (unexercised?) rights in Hilsley's *Primer*, 327.
- Bibliographia: Studies in Book History and Book Structure*, ed. M. Sadleir, reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 386 sq.
- Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, by J. F. Kellas Johnstone, Vol. II, noticed, 513 sq.
- Bibliographical Societies and Bibliography*, paper by G. F. Barwick, 151-9.
- Bibliographical Society, The, Annual Report (for 1929), 39 sq.; Annual Meeting, 41; Balance Sheet, 43.
- Bibliographical Society of America (1904, &c.), 154.
- Bibliographical Society of Chicago (1899-1903), 154.
- Bibliographical Society of Ireland (1916, &c.), 154.
- Bibliographie, Bibliothekswissenschaft, and Buchkunde, as subjects of University teaching, 60.
- Bibliography, *The Present Position of Bibliography*, presidential address by

- W. W. Greg, 241-62; two earliest Courses of Elementary Bibliography, 157; *Bibliography of the Commedia dell'Arte*, paper by K. M. Lea, 1-38.
- Bibliophile societies in Germany, 68.
- Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), its woodcuts of the 14th and 15th centuries, 387.
- Biffus, Joannes, seven-page bibliography of, in the (1491) school grammar of Guarinus, 152.
- Binding at Paris, *see* Parisian Binding.
- Bliss, Philip, his articles on G. Peele in the *London Magazine*, 108.
- Blum, André, and Philippe Lauer, *La Miniature Française aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, reviewed by E. G. Millar, 383-6.
- Boethius, quoted by Sir John Hayward, 217.
- Bologna University fixes *pecia* as 16 columns of 62 (or 60) lines of 32 letters, 230.
- Bonham, William, his rights in Hilsey's *Primer*.
- Bookbinding, German books on, 76.
- Booksellers (antiquarian), contrast between scientific and bibliophile, 59.
- Books of Hours, *see* Horae B.V.M.
- Bosanquet, E. F., on *An Early Printed Account Book*, 203-11.
- Boswell, Eleanore, on a playbill of 1687 (fac.), 499-501.
- Bouchot, Henri, eulogy of, 388.
- Boulard, *Cours élémentaire de Bibliographie* (1804), 157.
- Boule, André, his panel of the Chalice of Christ's blood, 406 sqq.
- Bradley, Henry, Dr. Greg's tribute to, as a great bibliographer, 254.
- Bradshaw, Henry, his place in the development of bibliography, 248 sq.
- Bricci, Giovanni, his improvised acting and plays, 32.
- British Academy, its *Proceedings* (for 1927 and 1928) noticed, 391 sq.
- Browne, William, Towards a text of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, by Geoffrey Tillotson, 193-202.
- Burle di Fidele, Le*, title-page, 7 sq. (and plate).
- Burton, Edward, his remarks on the three Primers of reign of Henry VIII, quoted, 335.
- Butler, John, lawsuits with J. Wayland as to Hilsey's *Primer*, 336-41.
- Byddell, John, his (unexercised?) rights in Hilsey's *Primer*, 327.
- Byrom, H. J., paper on *John Wayland—Printer, Scrivener, and Litigant*, 312-49.
- Cancel in Massinger's *Maid of Honour* (1632) due to error in perfecting, 91 sq.
- Candy, H. C. H., his key to distinguish first two eds. of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, 194.
- Carlisle, Bp. of, his speech for Richard II, 217.
- Cash Column for Accounts in 1582 Almanack, 206 and facs., 210.
- Caxton, William, allusions to (in 1460 and 1462), 103; his *Propositio Job. Russell*, at Holkham, 438.
- Chambers, Sir E. K., his *William Shakespeare, a Study of Facts and Problems* reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 378-83.
- Chancery, Court of, moved to remedy wrongful seizure of T. Walkley's stock of Ben Jonson *addenda*, 227 sq.
- Chancery Bills, statements in untrustworthy till corroborated, 225.
- Chantrey, Francis, asst. librarian at Holkham, 455-9.
- Chapman, Guy, *A Bibliography of W. Beckford*, by, noticed, 387.
- Chapman, R. W., his article of March 1927 on inventory of papers at the Bodleian discussed, 264; on *Eighteenth-Century Imprints*, 503 sq.
- Churchwardens' Accounts, use of roman and arabic numerals in (before 1600), 208.
- Cobden-Sanderson, T. J., on Jonson's poor presswork, 447.
- Coke, Sir Edward, C.J., his notes for the

- case against Sir John Hayward, 213-15 et seq.; his printed books at Holkham, 435-44; his catalogue of them, 436.
- Coke, John, 4th son of Edw., books bought by, at Holkham, 444.
- Coke, Robert, father of Edw., three of his books preserved, 436.
- Coke, Sir Robert, son of Edw., his books at Sion College, 444.
- Coke, Thomas, Earl of Leicester, fine MSS. and incunables collected by, 436, 445-53; his bindings, 447.
- Coke, Thomas Wm. ('Coke of Norfolk'), books bought by, at instigation of Wm. Roscoe, 436, 453 sq.
- Collyer, Mr., librarian (1842-60) at Holkham, 436, 455-9.
- Cologne, large panel stamps used at, 396 and n.; 400 Cologne stamps on Scottish Bindings, 5.
- Comici and Virtuosi, miscellanies of their respective plays, the bibliography of, by K. M. Lea, 1-38.
- Commedia dell'Arte, The Bibliography of the*, paper by K. M. Lea, 1-38.
- Compositors, distribution of work between, 88; amount of type at their disposal, 90; their rate of work, 91; may be responsible for abbreviation of speech prefixes in plays, 89.
- Consentius, Ernst, review by V. Scholderer of his *Die Typen der Inkunabelzeit*, 116-20; cp. 72.
- Cornermarks a sign of Italian, probably Genoese, papers, 473.
- Corrected and uncorrected states of a sheet, probable order of printing, 80 sq., 86.
- Correction of the press (in 1616), note of printer (J. Beal) on, 103.
- Corini collection of Italian comedies, 7; illustrations from, 7 sqq. and plates; relation to Locatelli collection, 9 sqq.
- Cox, Dr. E. M., distinguishes first and second eds. of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, 194.
- Cranford, manor of (Middx.), J. Wayland's claim to, 314 sqq.
- Cranmer, Thomas, Archbp. of Cant., attitude towards Bible printing and Hilsey's *Primer*, 328-34.
- Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, his verbal promises to Wayland of a licence for his *Primer*, 321-5 sq.; difficulties of his position, 328 sq.
- Crooke, Andrew, see Benson, John, and And. Crooke.
- Crotch, W. J. B., more Caxton notes by, 102-3.
- Crous, Dr. Ernst, on *Recent Bibliographical Work in Germany*, 57-77.
- Decimal classification in Germany, 61 sq.
- De la Rive, Abbé, his attack on other bibliographers, 155.
- Didot, family of typefounders and printers, their modern face types, 350-67 (three facs.).
- Digby, Sir Kenelm, gave various writings of Ben Jonson to T. Walkley to publish, 226 seq., 464.
- Dowling, Margaret, on *Sir John Hayward's Troubles over his 'Life of Henry IV'*, 213-24.
- Dreux, Jehan, name on panel stamp (supplied to Angers?), 512 sq.
- Dyson, Humphrey, see Proclamations.
- Ebisch, Walter, and L. L. Schücking, *A Shakespeare Bibliography*, reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 51 sq.
- Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, founded in 1890, 53; *Papers* of (1926-30), noticed, 514.
- Ehrman, Albert, note on connexion of John Reynes' panel stamp with Gerard Leeu, 104; comment by G. D. Hobson, 421; binding owned by, 409 n.
- Eighteenth-Century Imprints*, note by R. W. Chapman, 503 sq.
- Emperor, from Pigouchet, Dance of Death, on panel binding, 418.

- England, French panel stamps copied for use in, 407 n.; imported?, 416, 423 sq.
- English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library* (catalogue), reviewed, 511-13.
- Erfurt, possible source of Scottish binding stamps, 514.
- Essex, Robt. Devereux, Earl of, suspicion cast on, by Hayward's *Life of Henry IV*, 214.
- Eyre, Robert, and his wife Alice, widow of R. Grafton, disputes as to their property, 135 sqq.
- Ferrari, —, tutor and librarian to Earl of Leicester, books given by, at Holkham, 435, 445, 450.
- First Edition Club, contribution to expenses of its exhibitions, 41.
- Fool's cap, distinguishing forms of, in watermarks, 278 sqq., 479.
- Forme placed wrong-way-round, 91 sq.
- Fort, J. A., his views as to Shakespeare's Sonnets upheld, 380 sq.
- 'Foul papers' of plays, 112.
- France and Navarre, arms combined in watermarks, 267, 283.
- Frankfort, revival of printing and paper-making at, at close of 17th cent., 491.
- Gaselee, Stephen, on *The Beginnings of Printing in Abyssinia*, 93-6; reviews *Gesamtkat. der Wiegendrucke*, Bd. 4, 505 sq.; elected a Vice-President, 42.
- Genoa arms, watermarked in paper made in S. of France, 268 (so with Three Circles, p. 271); Arms of City of London in Genoese papers, 471; corner watermark sign of Italian, probably Genoese, paper, 473 sqq.; after long disuse in England, Genoese paper largely imported for about fifty years from 1680, 489.
- Gerardus de Lisa, further notes*, by V. Scholderer (at Aquileia 1496-99), 160.
- German paper, used in England, 491.
- Germany, *Recent Bibliographical Work in*, paper by Dr. Ernst Crous, 57-77.
- Gerrevink, L. van, paper maker, 480.
- Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Bd. 4; reviewed by S. Gaselee, 505 sq.
- Glasgow Bibliographical Society (1912, &c.), 154.
- Goodwin, G., his text of Browne's *Briannia's Pastorals*, 195 sqq.
- Grafton, Mrs. Alice, R. G.'s second wife, married Robert Eyre, 135.
- Grafton, Richard, *Grafton and the London Grey Friars*, paper by C. J. Sisson, 121-49; lived first in 'Dr. Vaughan's lodgings', 122; difficulties with Dr. Vandernoot, 126 sqq.; removed to the Old Jury, 133; disputes about his water-supply, 137 sqq.; Treasurer of Christ's Hospital, 141; situation of his printing-house, 142 sqq.; harshly treated by the City, 149.
- Grandjean, Philippe, his 'Romain du Roi', 356 (facs.)-9.
- Grapes, typically French watermark, forms of, in paper used in England, 282, 479.
- Greene, Thomas, apprentice delated by J. Wayland for distributing heretical book, 348.
- Greg, Walter Wilson, elected President, 4; Notes on Some Early Plays: *Hyckescorner*, 44; *Four Elements*, 46; *The Weather*, 50; Bale's *Baptism and Temptation*, 53; *Troas* (tr. Jasper Heywood), 162; reviews W. L. Sandridge's critical ed. of Massinger's *The Roman Actor*, 236 sq.; Presidential address on *The Present Position of Bibliography*, 241-62; his evidence before the Committee on the Teaching of English, 245; on amateurs and scholars in bibliography, 247 sqq.; on Henry Bradshaw, 248; on the Society's Secretaries and Prof. Dover Wilson, 251 sqq.; on Henry Bradley, 254; on the apparent lack of direction in the Society's work, 255; the new discovery that bibliography is concerned with the transmission of literary

- documents, *ib.*; a method of historical investigation, 256; and so a science, if history is a science, 257 sqq.; not charged with the compilation of bibliographies, as the slave of other sciences, 259; history of his *List of English Plays*, 260; his previous paper (of December 1912), 261; comments on F. Marcham's article on *Thomas Walkley and the Ben Jonson 'Works' of 1640*, 461-5.
- Grey-Friars, London, Richard Grafton's residence there, 121-49; plan of, *betw.* 124-5; temp. Henry VIII a colony of foreign ministers to royal luxury, 130.
- Guerrini, Olindo, his *Bibliografia per ridere* imitates L. de Virmond, 158 sq.
- Gutenberg Museum at Mainz, 70.
- Harris, Mr., his charges for MS. facsimiles, 456 sq.
- Harrison, G. B., on applications of the phrase *Keep the Widows Waking*, 97-101.
- Hatton, Sir Christopher, about a hundred volumes of his at Holkham, 443.
- Hayward, Sir John, paper by Marg. Dowling on his troubles over his *Life of Henry IV*, 212-24; his confession, 216; his claim of freedom 'to insert any hystorie of former tyme into his narrative', *ib.*
- Heawood, Edward, on *Papers used in England after 1600*. i. The 17th cent. to c. 1680, with facs., 263-99; main supply from N. and W. France, 292; little home-made; Swiss and German are less used, some Dutch but may be partly from Dutch firms in France, 293; ii. c. 1680-1750, with facs., 466-98; development of papermaking in England and Scotland, 488; General summary, 492.
- Heywood, Jasper, note on the order of the editions of his trans. of Seneca's *Troas*, 162-70.
- Heywood, John, alleged ed. by R. Wyer of his *Play of the Wether*, probably a myth, 50-3.
- Hilsey, John, Bp. of Rochester, the printing of his *Primer* (1539), 319-27; failure to obtain a privilege for it, 327-36; its sale, 336-41; his utter dependence on Cromwell, 330 n.; Edw. Burton's comments quoted, 335.
- History, Sir J. Hayward's claim of freedom 'to insert any hystorie of former tyme into that hystorie he wright', 216.
- Hobson, G. D., paper on *Parisian Binding (1500-25)*, 393-434 (specially indexed on pp. 425-34).
- Holkham, *Some Notes on the Library of Printed Books at*, by C. W. James, 435-60.
- Holy Grail, on panel stamp, 420.
- Horae B.V.M., influence of their pictures on panel stamps for bindings, 397, 403 sq., 409 sq.
- Huguenots, start paper mills in Hampshire, 488.
- Hycke Scorne, reconstruction of a lost Treveris edition, 44-6.
- Illustrations of Italian comedies in the Corsini collection, 7 sqq. and plates.
- Image of Pity, panel stamps of, 402; not shown in the Books of Hours, *ib.*
- Imprints in 18th century, their interpretation, 503 sq.
- Innocente Rivenduta, L', title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Inter-library-loan system, in Germany, 59.
- Italics, John Taylor's use of, 185.
- James, C. W., *Some Notes on the Library of Printed Books at Holkham*, 435-60.
- Jaugeon, Abbé, chairman of committee (1692) of Acad. des Sciences on printing types, 357.
- Jenson, Nicolas, Cobden-Sanderson on his poor presswork, 447.
- Jerico, tower in the walls of London called, used as a prison, 139.
- Johnson, A. F., reviews H. V. Marrot's *Wm. Bulmer, T. Bensley: A Study in Transition*, 234 sqq.; paper on *The Evolution of the Modern-face Roman*, 353-77.

- Johnstone, J. F. Kellas, and Robertson, A. W., *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. II, reviewed, 513 sqq.
- Jonson, Ben, *Tbo. Walkley and the Ben Jonson 'Works' of 1640*, paper by F. Marcham, 224-9; gave various of his writings to Sir K. Digby to dispose of, 226; handed to Walkley, 227; Dr. Greg's comments, 461-5.
- Jury amerced in damages for wrongful verdict, 338-40.
- Keep the Widow Waking*, applications of the phrase earlier than those noted by Prof. Sisson, by G. B. Harrison, 97-101.
- Kerver, Thielmann, cut of *Redemptoris Mundi Arma* copied on binding panel, 420.
- Kingston, John, printer, formerly apprentice to Grafton, gives evidence as to his house, 146; his dynasty of printers, 147.
- Larsen, T., *The Growth of the Peele Canon*, paper by, 300-11.
- Lauer, P., and A. Blum, *La Miniature Française aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, reviewed by E. G. Millar, 383-5.
- Lee, Kathleen M., paper on *The Bibliography of the Commedia dell'Arte*, 1-38.
- Leeu, Gerard, suggested connexion of J. Reynes' panel stamp with, 104; comment on suggestion, 421.
- Lemoine, P. A., *Les xylographies du XIV^e et du XV^e siècle au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 387-90.
- Licensing of books, lack of system, 178.
- Lichfield, Leonard, his treatment of John Taylor's copy, 179-92.
- Locatelli, Basilio, compiler of miscellany of Italian comedies (c. 1650), 5 sqq.; relation to the Corsini collection, 9 sqq.
- London, city arms in watermarks, 471.
- London: printed and sold by A. B., interpretation of, 503.
- Lowe, Patrick, Scottish bookbinder, 514.
- Luce, Louis, cuts small types for l'imprimerie Royale, 359.
- McIlwraith, A. K., *Some Bibliographical Notes on Massinger*, by, 78-92.
- McKerrow, R. B., on Rich. Robinson's *Eupolemia* and the Licensers, 173-8; presidential remarks on, 252.
- Maga, La*, title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Malone, Edm., his share in settling the Canon of Peele's works, 304 sq., 308 sqq.
- Manuscript line reckoning, note by R. Steele (q.v.), 349-52.
- Marcham, F., article on *T. Walkley and the Ben Jonson 'Works' of 1640*, 224-9; comments by Dr. Greg, 461-5.
- Marrot, H. V., his *W. Bulmer, T. Bensley: A Study in Transition* reviewed by A. F. Johnson, 235.
- Martin, William, typesetter, of the Baskerville school, 371.
- Masefield, John, *Bibliography of*, by C. H. Simmons, reviewed, 509.
- Massinger, *Some Bibliographical Notes on*, by A. K. McIlwraith, 78-92. *The Virgin Martyr* (1622), 79; *The Duke of Milan* (1623); *The Picture* (1630), 83; *The Maid of Honour* (1632), 87; W. L. Sandridge's critical ed. of his *The Roman Actor* reviewed, 236 sq.
- Mayler, John, his dealings in Hilsey's *Primer* (1539, &c.), 320-7.
- Mescall, Mrs., her wooing, 98 sqq.
- Meighen, Richard, nature of his rights in Ben Jonson copies, 463 and n.
- Middleton, T., ed. of his *Game of Chesse* by R. C. Bald, reviewed by J. D. Wilson, 105-16; diary of the play's production and stopping, 109 sq.
- Millar, Andrew, his device from Paris via Rouen, 416.
- Modern-face Roman, The Evolution of*, paper by A. F. Johnson, 353-77 (with facs.).
- Moore, Isaac, typesetter, influenced by Baskerville, 371.

- Mystery Plays, stamps on bindings influenced by, 399, 401.
- Netherlands, small panel stamps came into use at, 393; attempted adaptation of these by D. Roce at Paris, 398; stamp of the B.V.M., 400; John Baptist, 401; St. Roch, ib.
- Nicolas, afterwards de Neufchâteau, François, as Minister of State, charged librarians with duty of giving lessons in bibliography, 156 sq.
- Normandy, stamps used in, probably cut in Paris, 401 sq.
- Norvins, Jean, (Paris?) bookbinder, 404, 415, 432.
- Notary, Julian, unique panel stamp of the Shepherds on book printed by, 407 n.
- Notes on Some Early Plays*, by W. W. Greg, 44-56, 162-72.
- Oxford Bibliographical Society (1922, &c.), 184.
- Panel stamps, came into use in the Netherlands, 394; large upright ones at Cologne, and still more at Paris, 395 sq.; for further use there see Parisian Binding.
- Parisian Binding 1500-25*, paper by G. D. Hobson, 393-434 (specially indexed at end); its superiority both to foreign and provincial work, 393; quick success of historiated upright panels at, 396; needed to decorate Books of Hours, 397; types of, 398; birds and animals, 398; acorn pattern, ib.; B.V.M., 399 sq., 407; Saints, 400 sq.; Christ at the Column, 402; David, stem of Jesse, 403; Sarah (from *Tobie*), ib. n.; David in penitence, 404; Magi, ib.; favourite saints of France as in *Horae*, 408 sq.; names on of booksellers rather than binders, 411; saints favoured in provinces, 412 sq.; miscellaneous panels, Tiburtine Sibyl, and Emperor, 415 sqq.; death of Unicorn, 419; *Redemptoris Mundi Arma*, 420; Pigouchet device, 421; little good work outside Paris, 423; list of Gothic subjects of panels engraved or inspired by Parisian art, 425 sqq.; of Gothic panels used in the French provinces, 428 sqq.; names on Parisian Gothic panels or rolls, 429-32; binders at Paris, 433 sq.
- Parker, John, bookseller, attaches T. Walkley's stock of Ben Jonson *addendas* for alleged debt from J. Benson in virtue of entry in Stat. Reg., 228.
- Parker, Matthew, Archbp., books by or connected with, at Holkham, 439.
- Pecia*, the scribe's unit (16 col. of 62 lines of 32 letters) for reckoning his charge, paper by R. Steele, 229-34.
- Peciarii*, officers for checking *peciae*, 231 sq.
- Peele, George, *The Growth of the Peele Canon*, paper by T. Larsen, 300-11.
- Pepwell, Henry, his rights in Hiley's *Primer*, 327.
- Pepys, Samuel, nature of his eye-trouble, 516.
- Periodicals, bibliographical work on, in Germany, 64 sq.
- Phillips, Doll., fortune-teller, 98 sqq.
- Pigouchet, Philippe, his *Horae* cuts copied for bindings, 404, 414, 418; because metal cuts, 419; panel stamp from his device, 421.
- Pilkington, John, J. Wayland's fraudulent step-father, 313 sq.
- Pisaurus, Jacobus, not Jac., bp. of Pesaro (1538), but Giacomo Pesaro, bp. of Baffo (1495), 161.
- Playbill of 1687, note by Eleanore Boswell (with facs.), 499-501.
- Players' parts, theory of their 'assembling' to form a text, 113 sqq.
- Pollard, A. W., reviews by, 238-40, 378 sqq., 386-92, 507-16; Presidential remarks on, 251 sq.
- Porcia, Count of, his *Epist. familiaris*, printed c. 1507 (not after 1538), 161.

- Pot or Jug, watermark in paper used in England, 288-91.
- Powell, Humphrey and William, condemned in damages for breach of contract to buy Whitchurch's printing-house, 343.
- Power, Sir D'Arcy, his *Selected Writings*, noticed, 515 sq.
- Principe d'Altavilla*, title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Primers of the reign of Henry VIII, Edw. Burton quoted as to, 335 (see also Hilkey, J.).
- Privilegium ad imprimendum solum*, J. Wayland's breach of regulations as to using the words, 334.
- Proclamations (Eliz. and Jacob.) sold from Holkham (? one of Dyson's sets), 458.
- Protes*, title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Prussian Union Catalogue, 64.
- Publishers' Binding Styles 1770-1900, The Evolution of*, by M. Sadleir, reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 386.
- Rastell, John, printer and date of his *Four Elements*, 46 sqq.; his music type, 47 sqq.
- Recent Bibliographical Work in Germany*, paper by Dr. Ernst Crous, 57-77.
- Regnault, François, asks leave (1538) to sell out his stock of English Primers, 329.
- Reviews and Notices, 105-20; 235-40; 378-92; 505-16.
- Reynes, John, suggested connexion of his panel stamp with Ger. Leeu, 104, 421.
- Richard II, Q. Elizabeth's suspicions that Sir J. Hayward's story of his downfall was aimed at her, 212, 216; Shakespeare's play of, 212, 220 sqq.
- Richel, Wendelin, of Strasburg, his watermark widely copied, 269; also his initials, 275, 285, 480.
- Robertson, A. W., *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, by J. F. K. Johnstone and, Vol. II reviewed, 513.
- Robinson, Richard, paper on *Richard Robinson's 'Eupolemia' and the Licensers*, by R. B. McKerrow, with list of his books, 173-8.
- Roce, Denis, his device copied on binding panel, 421 (cut and plate), 432.
- Roch, St., panel stamp of, 401.
- Romains du Roi, typefounders (vainly) forbidden to copy, 358.
- Rosa, Salvator, his improvised acting, 27.
- Rushforth, Marjorie, on *Two John Taylor MSS. at Leon. Lichfield's Press*, 179-92.
- Sadleir, Michael, *Bibliographia: Studies in Book History and Book Structure 1750-1900*, edited by, reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 386 sq.; I. *The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles*, 386 sq.
- Sanders Readership in Bibliography, its results, 243.
- Sandridge, W. L., jr., his critical ed. of Massinger's *The Roman Actor* reviewed by W. W. Greg, 236.
- Scala, F., his *Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative* (1611), 4.
- Scambi, Li, title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Scenario of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, 3 sq.
- Scholderer, V., review of *Die Typen der Inkunabelzeit* by E. Consentius, 116-20; *Further Notes on Gerardus de Lisa*, 160 sq.
- Schücking, L. L., *A Shakespeare Bibliography*, by W. Ebisch and, reviewed, 51 sqq.
- Shakespeare, William, Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris*, ascribed to, 303; Sir E. K. Chambers, *W. Shakespeare, a Study of Facts and Problems*, reviewed by A. W. Pollard, 378-83; *A Shakespeare Bibliography*, by W. Ebisch and L. L. Schücking, reviewed by A. W. P., 51 sqq.
- Signatures, eccentric method of marking, 181.
- Simmons, C. H., *A Bibliography of John Masefeld*, reviewed, 509.
- Simpson, Percy, his influence on the study of bibliography at Oxford, 244.
- Sisson, Charles J., paper on *Grafton and*

- the *London Grey Friars*, 121-49; notes by G. B. Harrison of the use of the phrase *Keep the Widow Waking* earlier than noted in his paper, 97-101.
- Sociedad bibliográfica de Santiago, founded in 1895, 153.
- Società bibliografica Italiana, founded in 1895, privileges and work, 153.
- Société Bibliographique, founded in 1868, organized three international congresses, 152.
- Société bibliographique Belge (1886), 152.
- Société française de Bibliographie, founded in 1906, 152.
- Some Bibliographical Notes on Massinger, by A. K. McIlwraith, 78-92.
- Some Notes on the Library of Printed Books at Holkham, by C. W. James, 435-50.
- Speech prefixes in plays as abbreviated by different composers, 89.
- Spelling, John Taylor's and L. Lichfield's compositor's, 188 sqq.
- Spenser, Edmund, the early version of his complaints contributed to the *Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings* (1569) of the poet J. Vandernoot, not the physician, 131.
- Stage-directions, types used for, 88.
- Stationers' Register, eight of R. Robinson's nineteen published works not entered, three of the eight without licenser's name, one entered by wardens' authority, though already duly licensed, 178; alleged dishonest entry in, to rob lawful copyholder, 227.
- Steele, Robert, paper on *The Pecia*, the copyists unit (16 col. of 60 or 62 lines of 32 letters) for his charge, 230-4; on *MS. Line-Reckoning*, Harley MS. 682 shows six counts and final unit of 700 lines for tenpence, 349-52.
- Sterne, Laurence, facsimile of sale catalogue of his library, noticed, 390 sq.
- Story, John, Edinburgh printer of *Compassio beate Marie*, 514.
- Strasbourg arms watermarked in Angoumois papers, 472.
- Subject catalogue, development in Germany, 62.
- Taylor, John, paper by Marjorie Rushforth on *Two John Taylor MSS. at Leon. Lichfield's Press*, illustrating treatment of his copy for *Aqua-Musae* and *The Causes of the Diseases* by the Printer, 179-92; his marginal notes and marks, 182; facs. of section of his copy and printed text, after p. 184; his punctuation, 186; use of capitals, 187; spelling, 188.
- Theatre Royal, playbill (of 1687), 499-501 (facs.).
- Thomas, Edmund, Franciscan, witness in disputes about Greyfriars (1545, 1552, 1578), 137.
- Thorne, Robert, his full modern face types, 375-7 (with page from his specimen book, 376).
- Tiburtine Sibyl, on panel stamps, 415, 417.
- Tottell, Richard, misprints in his reprint of Jasp. Heywood's trans. of Seneca's *Troas*, 162-72.
- Tracing to supply imperfections, charges for, 457.
- Tre Satiri, Li*, title-page, 8 (and plate).
- Typefounding in Germany, 75.
- Unicorn, death of, on panel stamp, the legend, 419.
- Van der Ley, Pieter, his monogram found in countermarks, 484.
- Vandernoot, Dr. John, his house and property in Grey Friars, 123 sqq.; his quarrels with the Corporation and R. Grafton, 127 sqq.; his treatise on the Plague printed in 1569 (14 years after his death) to profit by the presence of the well-known Flemish poet of the same name, author of the *Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings* printed the same year, 131 sq.

- Verucci, Virgilio, relation of the plays he printed to the Locatelli scenari, 25 sqq.
- Virmond, L. de, in his *Récréations bibliographiques*, quotes incongruous titles of works by authors whose names are borne by modern writers, 158.
- Vocht, Dr. Henry de, argument by Dr. Greg against his assignment of priority between two eds. of Jasp. Heywood's trans. of Seneca's *Troas*, 163.
- Walkley, Thomas, and the Ben Jonson 'Works' of 1640, notes by F. Marcham (Walkley's stock of *addenda* to Jonson's Works seized by J. Parker for alleged debt due by J. Benson who had made a dishonest entry in Stat. Reg., Chancery invoiced), 224-9; Dr. Greg's comments, 461-5.
- Ward, Rev. John, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon, Sir D'Arcy Power on his Diary, 515.
- Waverley Novels, *A bibliography of the*, by Grev. Worthington, noticed, 508 sq.
- Wayland, John, paper on *John Wayland—Printer, Scrivener, and Litigant*, by H. J. Byrom, 311-49; his life (1508?-72), 313-19; entered Scriveners' Company (10.xii.1540), 313; information from his lawsuits, 314 sqq.; the printing of Hilsey's *Primer* (1539), 319-27; failure to obtain a privilege for it, 327-36; its sale to J. Mayler and ensuing litigation, 336-41; his second period of printing, 341-9; granted a patent to print primers (1553) 341, 345; takes over Whitchurch's printing-house, 342; his ed. of the *Falls of Princes*, 346 sq.; his work better than Tottell's, 347; delates his apprentice, 348.
- Welsh Bibliographical Society founded 1910, 154.
- Whibley, Charles, prefaces facsimile of sale catalogue of Sterne's library, 390 sq.
- Whitchurch, E., his printing-house taken over by J. Wayland, 342.
- Whitepaine, John, litigation with J. Wayland, 315-17.
- Willoughby, E. G., publishes J. Beal's note (in 1616) on press-correction, 103.
- Wilson, Alexander, his roman types influenced by Baskerville, 371.
- Wilson, J. Dover, review of R. C. Bald's ed. of Middleton's *A Game of Chesse*, by, 105-16; Presidential remarks on, 253.
- Worthington, Greville, his *Bibliography of the Waverley Novels*, noticed, 508 sq.
- Wyer, Robert, alleged ed. by, of Heywood's *Play of the Wether*, probably a myth, 50-3.

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